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EMIN PASHA

EMIN PASHA

HIS LIFE AND WORK

COMPILED FROM HIS JOURNALS
LETTERS · SCIENTIFIC · NOTES
AND FROM OFFICIAL
DOCUMENTS BY GEORG
SCHWEITZER WITH
AN INTRODUCTION
BY R. W. FELKIN
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Chapter XXVI

UNDER THE GERMAN FLAG

EMIN PASHA was met by Major von Wissmann, the German Commissioner, with a full display of military pomp and splendour, and, together with Stanley, he entered Bagamoyo triumphantly.

Immediately after his arrival, Emin was welcomed by the commander of the cruiser *Sperber*, in the name of His Majesty the German Emperor. The news of Emin's arrival was immediately transmitted to Berlin by telegraph, and in reply a message of welcome from the Emperor himself arrived at the German Consulate at Zanzibar, and was at once forwarded to Bagamoyo. It ran as follows :—

“Received the following telegram from Berlin, dated 4th December, 3.10 p.m. :

“‘TO GERMAN CONSULATE, ZANZIBAR.

“‘FOR DOCTOR EMIN PASHA,—

“‘On your returning at last from the post which you have held heroically for over eleven years, with true German fidelity and devotion to duty, I have pleasure in sending you this message of welcome, together with my congratulations and approval. It has been particularly gratifying to me that the troops of the German Imperial Commissioner were in a position to open a road for you to the coast, right across our protectorate.

“‘(Signed) WILHELM, IMPERATOR, REX.

“‘Count Bismarck.’”

As already indicated, Emin's journal shows a gap after the 3rd of December, so that as regards the events that followed

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we depend exclusively on the communications of other parties. Not until February are there communications from Emin's hand again available, in the shape of letters sent to Germany.

Accident and Illness

THE first day spent by Emin in Bagamoyo is described in a particularly graphic manner by Captain Hirschberg, of the cruiser *Schwalbe*, in a letter dated the 17th of December. He wrote as follows :—

“ With Vice-Consul Steifensand on board, I left on the 4th of December, at two o'clock, for Bagamoyo. The *Sperber* had already started in the morning for the same place, in order to welcome Emin and Stanley, by order of His Majesty. They arrived there at eleven o'clock.

“ The English man-of-war *Turquoise*, with the transport *Somali*, also proceeded to the anchorage of Bagamoyo.

“ At five o'clock the *Schwalbe* arrived, and I went ashore. First of all I met Emin Pasha, who was highly delighted at being welcomed in this way by telegraphic command of His Majesty, as well as by a direct message from the Emperor.

“ He is of short stature, slender build, with quite an Oriental type of features ; he spoke much and with vivacity of his adventures, and was very pleased whenever he met any one who could speak German.

“ Subsequently Stanley appeared on the scene ; he is a short man, with rather a large head, an energetic expression, a keen, intelligent look, grey hair, and a dark moustache ; grave, dignified, and about forty-six years of age.

“ At the reception banquet given by Major Wissmann, about thirty of us were present, including Stanley, Emin Pasha, Casati, Stairs, Nelson, and other officers accompanying Stanley, as well as the reporter of the *New York Herald*, also the Consuls of Germany and England, the representatives of the German and the English East Africa Companies, the commanders of the men-of-war, the French missionaries, the officers of the German colonial troops, etc.

“ Emin, who sat next to me, is so near-sighted that he has

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to raise the food up to within three or four inches of his eyes to see it. He looked really happy to be once more among civilised men, and particularly among his own countrymen.

"He was quite delighted at our somewhat mediocre *Schwalbe* orchestra, which played during the dinner. He said, 'How I should like to hear *Heil Dir im Siegerkranz*!' Altogether, he appears to be thoroughly German in his sentiments.

"Stanley is very talkative, and has a sonorous voice and a good delivery. He is somewhat dramatic in his action ; thus, for instance, he 'suppressed a tear' the other day in 'remembrance' of the bones of some members of his expedition, bleaching under the African sun. (At the same time he is said to be the most ruthless African explorer in existence.) After this he gently passed into a sarcastic vein, saying that the important discovery had been made that the lake measured so many square miles, not about so many square miles, but so many and a quarter.

"He speaks well, and altogether is very pleasant and interesting.

"Unfortunately, Emin Pasha met with an accident on the first night after his arrival ; owing to his near-sightedness, he mistook a low window for the door to a balcony, and fell headlong from the first floor.

"Fortunately for him, his fall was somewhat broken by a small steep lean-to roof, which was under the window.

"God often leads man in a mysterious way ! Emin was for eleven years in the interior of Africa, but got safely out at last, and yet he is destined to meet with this accident on the very next day. Now, after the event of course, the window has been protected.

"In consequence of this accident, Foss (the commander of the *Sperber*) cancelled the invitations he had issued for his official dinner on the 5th. The medical staff, with several ambulance men, went ashore to look after Emin. At first it was feared that he had fractured his skull, but his condition improved generally, and he was conscious. He is reported to have said : 'I shall die willingly, now that I am so honoured ; the Emperor has sent me his greetings !'

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"Yesterday the Consul received a telegram announcing that the Emperor has bestowed the Second Class of the Order of the Crown, with a Star, on Emin."

This account is supplemented by a statement made by another of the guests at the reception dinner on the night of the 4th of December, as follows: "Emin rose and made a short speech, referring to the welcome given him by the commander of the *Sperber* in the name of His Majesty the German Emperor, and proposed the health of His Majesty, which was drunk by all with loud acclamation. Subsequently, the Governor proposed Stanley's health, and Stanley, in returning thanks, proposed Major von Wissmann's health. Strange to say, no one thought of proposing the health of him in whose honour the dinner was really given, and who was now, for the first time after eleven years, sitting once more among his German countrymen. But Emin himself rose for the second time in order to utter some words of thanks and acknowledgment to the Catholic Mission, who, when he arrived in Usambiro, destitute of the barest necessities of life, had assisted him, and who also had frequently extended to him a helping hand in former years by transmitting messages, etc. Then he again rose, without attracting any attention, and went into the adjoining room. Immediately after, the accident happened."

The reason why Emin left his seat at the table will probably never be known; unfortunately, as already stated, his diary does not contain any entries concerning this particular period. No doubt his notes would have been of great assistance in forming an opinion on the existing situation. At any rate, it appears that the not very pleasant relations existing between Emin and Stanley had, to some extent, temporarily influenced the spirit which reigned around the table. It is not unlikely that Emin, with his retiring disposition, preferred to quit the field in favour of Stanley, the ruthless one. Stanley always exerted on Emin an influence that induced him to avoid anything that could have aroused the former's displeasure, as he did not feel himself Stanley's equal in an open contest. This is distinctly referred to by Major von Wissmann, who writes:—

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"The relation between Emin Pasha and Stanley was such as to make me feel that I would rather not touch upon it. When, on crossing the Kingani River, I met both Stanley and Emin for the first time and received them in my capacity of Imperial Commissioner, *i.e.* as the highest official of the colony, I gave the Pasha precedence in entering my boat, but he drew back quickly and requested me to let Stanley enter first. It was just the same on the occasion of the banquet which I gave in honour of both, and at which I proposed to let Emin sit on my right. At his urgent request, I modified this arrangement so as to let Stanley take that place, while Emin sat on my left. Stanley evidently exerted a very great influence on the Pasha, and, as I must state with regret, his manner resembled that of a military superior and a man of few words towards his subordinate. The Pasha avoided opposing Stanley, and gave way whenever the latter had personal transactions with him."

Stanley says that Emin was taken, after the accident, to the German Hospital before all the guests assembled at the dinner were aware of what had happened. Thanks to the devoted care bestowed on him there, his life was saved.

The news of the accident was soon flashed all over the globe. From all parts messages of sympathy arrived, together with letters of welcome. Besides His Majesty the German Emperor, the Queen of England and the Khedive telegraphed for news concerning Emin's condition. The following letter, addressed at the time to the editor of this book, will show what an impression this general sympathy made on Emin while he was slowly recovering:—

"BAGAMOYO, 25th January, 1890.

"MY DEAR COUSIN GEORGE,—

"First of all accept my hearty thanks for your kind letter, which was forwarded to me last night by the Consul-General. During the time of my studies in Berlin, your father always showed me so much kindness, that I do not wonder at his son following in his footsteps. My long sojourn among the negro population, far from civilisation, and long deprivation of all correspondence, have rendered me more susceptible than

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would otherwise be the case, as regards the least mark of affection. But although I have received telegrams and letters from all parts, if I except the one received from Arthur, Melanie, and Grethe while I was lying prostrate in a hopeless condition, your letter was the first that touched me as being really friendly and sympathetic. I also thank you most heartily for the family news ; it is long since I have heard anything from home.

"I am still at Bagamoyo, because the fracture of the skull, which was the result of my fall, has left some serious after-effects, although, thanks to devoted care, I am restored sufficiently to be able to take short walks. I really do not know how to thank all of them here—Major Wissmann and his officers, the doctor and the sisters at the hospital. I intend to leave here in a few days to resume scientific work, and for this purpose I propose to apply for an extension of leave from Egypt. I do not know whether this will be granted, as the English desire to get me away from here at any cost, while on the other hand the Arabs would like to keep me. It does not matter much to me what Stanley may be doing in Egypt ; his own countrymen know what to think of his stories.

"Your kind offer, to come all the way out here and take me back home with you, was exceedingly gratifying to me ; but for the present I must decline, for the simple reason that you would hardly find me here. It is impossible for me just now to explain to you how circumstances have shaped themselves, because the greatest caution is necessary if one is to succeed here in any project. Before the departure of the French mail, which will leave Zanzibar on the 5th or 6th of March, I hope to be able to decide definitely my plans for the immediate future, and to communicate my decision to you by the same mail. I need scarcely say how gladly I would like Melanie to come at least as far as Cairo, and if I get there I shall certainly ask her to come. Immediately after my arrival and accident, I got some one to write a letter to Melanie, addressing it to Neisse ; I fear it has not reached her. You will therefore greatly oblige me by informing all relatives that I have already written.

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"I need scarcely ask you to give my kindest regards and compliments to your parents, and although I am a stranger to your brothers and to Kaempf and Otto, the brothers-in-law, I send them my kind regards.

"It would only be fair for me to tell you something about myself and my adventures, but I will leave that for a future occasion, as, in the first place, I am anxious to see how matters will shape themselves in the immediate future (for I shall not go to Suakim or Wadi Halfa as Civil Governor), and, secondly, I am tired of all the talk about myself and my doings.

"Since my arrival here I have been inundated with telegrams and letters from all sorts of people about whom I do not care a rap, concerning newspaper articles to be written, books to be published, contributions to be sent in for magazines, etc., etc., and I feel heartily glad when I come across a welcome letter like yours, with none of this nonsense in it. But apart from these importunate messages, I have also received many tokens of sympathy and acknowledgment, and I shall never forget how deeply I was affected by the telegram of welcome from His Majesty, our Emperor and King, handed to me by Captain Foss, of H.M.S. *Sperber*, on my arrival. But, independent of this, other marks of distinction have not been wanting. The Königsberg philosophical faculty has made me 'Doctor *honoris causa*,' and the Leopoldina Carolina Academy has made me honorary member, as has also the Halle Geographical Society. Little as I care about all such things, it is nevertheless gratifying to have achieved some distinction by my own effort. Some day I shall pack up all the diplomas and send them to Melanie, who takes a delight in such things.

"Hitherto I have never yet set foot in Zanzibar, but in the course of the next four or five days I expect a steamer which the Imperial Commissioner has very kindly promised to send to take me across to that island, when I propose to pay a visit to the Sultan and return the visits of the Consuls who called on me during my illness. I shall be able to telegraph and write to you from there.

"To-day I will write to your little daughter, so that she

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may have a letter from Africa, and I shall take the liberty to avail myself of the first opportunity to send a few trifles, the best that I can get there, for you and Melanie.

"Once more thanking you most heartily for your kind letter, I request you to give my kind regards to your wife and all your family, and to let me hear again soon from you.

"I remain,

"Your sincere cousin,

"DR. EMIN.

"Send me something to read. Address: Imperial German Consulate-General (Zanzibar).

"I have just received a letter from Melanie through Mr. Schmidt, and shall answer it at once."

He writes to this sister in a similar strain :—

"BAGAMOYO, 28th February, 1890.

"DEAR MELANIE,—

"Many thanks for your letter kindly forwarded by Mr. Schmidt. Major Wissmann had previously handed to me the letter sent to him, from yourself, Margaret and Arthur, so that, during my enforced idleness in the German Hospital here, where I have for more than six weeks been the object of the most devoted care, I have been able to revel in reminiscences of my old home. In addition to this, I have had letters from old fellow-students and college chums who have not forgotten me in spite of my erratic career; their letters gave me great pleasure.

"Now, thank God, I am so far restored that I have been able to take a house and set up an establishment with my men. The fracture of the skull has healed up fairly well, and although at first I was completely deaf in the right ear, that has greatly improved, but I still feel a kind of numbness all over the right side of the head, which prevents me from any quick movement, and after prolonged walking frequently causes me to reel. No doubt this will improve in course of time. I do not believe, however, that I shall ever quite regain my former activeness, especially as I am unable to eat without an effort. But enough of this, I have had every care; Dr. Brehme and Sisters Auguste Hertzner and Helene von

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Borke have nursed me with self-sacrificing devotion, and Major Wissmann, with all his officers, the captains of the German men-of-war, the whole German colony of Zanzibar, the Consuls, etc., have spoiled me to such an extent that it will be hard indeed for me to tear myself away from these surroundings.

"But there is no help for it ; only yesterday the Khedive again telegraphed to inquire how I was getting on, and when he might expect to see me in Cairo. I replied with thanks, that I would probably be able to leave here at the end of March or early in April, provided that no further complications arose.

"You are glad at the condescension shown to me by His Majesty our Emperor and King. You cannot imagine how deeply I was touched when on the day of my arrival here, Captain Foss, of H.M.S. *Sperber*, in the presence of the assembled officers and Consuls, handed me the telegram of welcome from His Majesty, countersigned by Bismarck. And again a few days later, when I was hovering between life and death, Wissmann came with the message that the Emperor had bestowed on me the Second Class of the Order of the Crown, with a Star. After this one might willingly lay down his life for the Emperor.

"I have also been highly honoured in many other ways, and I only wish you could see the flood of telegrams from all countries with which I was inundated, followed by as many letters and invitations. Countess de Noailles has invited me three times to the Iles Hyères, where a house is held in readiness for me ; if I go to Egypt and you come there, we will make an excursion together. Schweinfurth, Rohlfs, Junker, Ascherson, Kirchhoff, all my faithful helpers and friends, Ratzel, Felkin, and Hartlaub, all old friends, were among the first to send me kind messages.

"I have not yet been in Zanzibar, but intend going there on a visit during the next few days, as Sultan Said Ali wishes to speak to me, and I have to call on Wissmann and on the Consuls. I shall then return and await further events. No doubt I shall be here until the end of March, and will telegraph to you before I undertake any journey. Schmidt

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writes to say that he will communicate with you. His family is living in Schmiedeberg, so he is a countryman of ours ; he was the first German I met when we arrived at Mpwapwa on our journey from Lake Victoria.

“There are also some other Silesians here.

“Now good-bye for to-day ; the steamer will be leaving in half an hour. More by next mail. Give my kind regards to all who remember me.

“Your brother,

“DR. EMIN.”

Quite a month before this letter was written to his sister, Emin had resumed the correspondence with his friends, and at the same time had also made all arrangements to again take up his favourite pursuit of biological research. On the 27th of January, 1890, he dictated the following lines, addressed to Professor Hartlaub at Bremen :—

“DEAR SIR AND FRIEND,—

“While prostrate with grave sickness, your kind letter really came as a surprise to me, as I had been waiting in vain for some mark of your sympathy. Now that, thank God, I am able to walk about in my room, although still forced to avail myself of the kind offices of my friend and colleague, Dr. Brehme, for my correspondence, I hasten to express to you my best thanks for your letter, and as you seem to be anxious to receive consignments from me, I have had a case of bird-skins sent to you. As most of the skins have been collected in regions hitherto quite unknown, I hope that some new species will be found among them. Unfortunately, I had neither porters at my disposal, nor time for collecting, nor had I any arsenic wherewith to treat the skins properly, consequently I lost more than a third of them. You will do well to have all the skins newly disinfected.

“In order to utilise my enforced stay at Bagamoyo to best advantage, I have engaged a naturalist, and I hope to commence with the work during the next few days, although for the first time in my life I shall myself be unable to take a hand in it. Whatever I collect will be yours. But now I

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wish to ask a favour of you. The two special reprints from the transactions of the Bremen Society concerning the birds I sent you, together with all that I possessed of the kind, have been lost. Your last essay concerning my birds has never reached me, nor has Dr. Leche's work, or the promised case containing the publications by Reichenow, Bohndorf, etc. I therefore beg of you to do an act of Christian charity and collect from your own stock and among your friends whatever can be spared, and send all such matter as soon as possible to the German Consulate at Zanzibar, where they will, at any rate, know my address. Fortunately, I have been able to borrow your book on East Africa here.

"I am unable to tell you at present when I shall leave here and where I shall go first. But you may be sure that if ever my lucky star should lead me to Germany, I shall not fail to come and thank you personally for all your kindness, and that whenever I can collect, whether in Egypt or elsewhere, I shall forward my collections to you.

"Accept the assurance of my sincere respect, and believe me,

"Yours faithfully,

"DR. EMIN."

Plans for the Future

BUT during Emin's convalescence, even before his scientific interest revived, considerations as to what the future had in store for him thrust themselves into the foreground.

Later on, writing to one of his friends in Germany, as to the thoughts which occupied him at that time, he says:—

"On the day after my unfortunate fall, Stanley insisted on my men embarking, threatening to put them in chains if they resisted, and had them conveyed *via* Zanzibar to Mombasa, without permitting them to communicate with me in any way. An Egyptian steamer requisitioned by me received orders from Stanley and brought the men to Suez, without my being afforded an opportunity of seeing any of

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them. I myself received letters and messages which I cannot but describe as improper. I was then laid up with a fractured skull and incapable of writing. During my stay in the hospital Wissmann befriended me in the most generous manner. You know that we all reached the coast without a penny ; the Egyptian Government never inquired whether I was in need of anything, or troubled about me in any way ; there were a few kind inquiries as to my health from the Khedive, for which, of course, I feel greatly obliged to him personally, but replying to these was very expensive and I had no money wherewith to pay. Relying on the official communications I received from Nubar Pasha and Sir John Kirk to the effect that I was to draw bills on the latter for all I might require, I had, when staying with Mackay, purchased a donkey for riding, also a linen suit, shirt and boots, from the French missionaries at Bukumbi, and given them a draft on the British Consulate-General, but payment was declined there (\$157). You may imagine the frame of mind I was in ; anxiety about my own future, anxiety as to the preservation of my people, sickness, the indifference of the Egyptian Government, Stanley's invectives . . .

"While I was still lying ill in the hospital, Wissmann, in the course of conversation, asked me whether I proposed to work for the English in future ; and when I told him I should of course prefer to work for my native country, he asked permission to report this to His Majesty. I willingly assented. After this we had several interviews and discussed the subject of an expedition into the interior, and when Wissmann complained that he had no one he could entrust with it, I volunteered my services, saying that His Majesty had shown me great honour, and this would be a good opportunity to evince my gratitude. At that time I had left the hospital and removed to a house at Bagamoyo. Wissmann cabled that permission for the expedition was given ; and in answer to further messages from Wissmann, a reply was sent to the effect that there was no objection to my being entrusted with the conclusion of treaties with the chiefs between Victoria and Tanganyika,

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and to my being employed provisionally, with a chance of a future permanent appointment."

It has been asserted later, both by Stanley and others, in a spirit of reproof, that Major Wissmann was the instigator of Emin's "ingratitude," that is to say, that he induced Emin to withdraw promises he had already made to England and to enter German service. The letter just communicated, in itself shows very distinctly that this was not the case; but apart from this, the following communications made by Major von Wissmann to the author of this book may be of interest, because they prove the complete groundlessness of the reproaches made by Englishmen. Major von Wissmann declares :—

"Emin Pasha told me that two different offers were made to him from England, and I believe one by the Congo State. The principal proposal was that he should return from Mombasa to Uganda, so that from that point he might, with the assistance of the English, and of course on behalf of England, reconquer his old province. Emin repeatedly assured me (and I am firmly convinced that this is true) that he avoided any promise, and that therefore he was at perfect liberty to enter the German service. I am convinced that what most enraged Stanley was that he could not take Emin Pasha with him to Egypt, to carry him triumphantly through every country as one who had been 'saved from a dreadful fate.' Before his departure for Europe, Stanley repeatedly sent his doctor to the hospital of Bagamoyo, to induce Emin to cross over to Zanzibar and come with Stanley to Europe. Mainly relying on the opinion of three German medical men, I warned Emin against any such attempt, which might easily cause his wound, as yet barely cicatrised, to reopen when embarking or landing, and, according to the opinion of the doctors, this would have endangered his life.

"When Emin was lying on his bed of sickness, he repeatedly handed me Stanley's letters, and asked me to read them to him. Subsequently I spoke to the English doctor, who tried to induce Emin to leave, and this probably made Stanley think that we were improperly acquainting ourselves

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with the contents of the letters addressed by him to the Pasha. Thus my station doctor at Bagamoyo once came across Stanley's well-known sagacious, clever servant boy, who, by his master's instructions, had crept quite unnoticed into Emin's sick chamber, and had handed him a letter from Stanley."

That Emin had not entered into any engagement with England is also proved by a further letter he addressed to Eugen Wolf, the well-known explorer and correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*. This letter was read long after Emin had returned to the interior, and while he was staying on the western bank of the Victoria Nyanza. The letter contained the following passage :—

"Stanley cannot deny that it was his arrival which caused the revolt to break out in full force, nor can he dispute that I held and administered the province without his aid from 1882 to 1889, nor can he deny that when he submitted to me King Leopold's offer he urgently advised me not to accept it, nor that an agreement for the sale of my province to the Imperial British East Africa Company, only requiring my signature, is still at this moment in my hands. . . . If you wish to see this agreement, I can send it to you."

Moreover, Dr. Stuhlmann confirms the statement that Emin did not sign the agreement; he saw this agreement, without Emin's signature, as late as 1891. As will be seen later on, Emin expressed himself in the same terms to Dr. Peters on the occasion of their meeting at Mpwapwa.

Consequently there can be no question whatever of Stanley having engaged Emin on behalf of England.

On the other hand, after what had passed between these two men, it was not to be expected that Stanley would be willing without a struggle to give up Emin, whom he had "saved," to the German Government. But at the same time Stanley recognised that the unlimited influence which he had hitherto exerted on Emin had vanished, and that it would require a clever move on his part to remove Emin from German East Africa.

Stanley therefore endeavoured first to turn public opinion

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against Emin. This strategy, however, was so palpable that as far back as the 29th of December, 1889, the *Cologne Gazette* made the following comments :—

“ It is painful to observe mean features in the character of great men. The public at large knows Stanley simply as the heroic explorer, and judges him by his successes, hardly won and grand beyond parallel, although they have been still further magnified by clever advertising. Any one who has had an opportunity of hearing the opinion of Stanley's subordinates on their former chief will come to the conclusion that his egotism must be at least quite as great as his stupendous energy. And if we compare Stanley's description of his administrative activity on the Congo with the actual condition on the spot, we feel inclined to lament that a virtue which ranks higher than all advertising talent, viz., the gift of picturing things as they are, without any calculation for personal effect or otherwise, has not been granted in more generous measure to this great and much admired man.

“ It is not seemly that Stanley should, in letters and newspaper articles, attack a man whom he claims to have rescued, and who is now hovering between life and death. Behind this, there must be some hidden secret which we cannot as yet unravel and on which, doubtless, Emin himself would be best able to throw some light. German and English journals have already pointed out that, as regards Emin, there is a glaring contradiction between Stanley's former and present letters.

“ But hitherto no one has as yet pointed out that there cannot possibly be any foundation for the very main point and essence of the charges brought by Stanley against Emin ; viz., the statement that Emin Pasha, although he asserted the contrary in his letters addressed to Europe, had owned neither province nor soldiers for the last five years. For in the first place we have exhaustive letters from Casati, in addition to those from Emin himself, anent the conditions under which Emin existed during the last years of his administration. But in the second place, and this is most important, our countryman Dr. Wilhelm Junker, a part of whose exhaustive work on his African explorations has already

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appeared, did not leave Emin Pasha at Wadelai until the early part of 1886. Dr. Junker has referred in numerous interviews and lectures to Emin's situation, and has pictured it exactly in the same way as represented by Emin in his letters. There is scarcely any need for us, under such circumstances, to demonstrate more fully on which side truth is to be sought.

"Even when Stanley was first starting on his so-called relief expedition, which was probably mainly intended to serve political purposes, it was noted as peculiar that he should make the remarks communicated to him at Cairo by Dr. Junker, with reference to Emin's near-sightedness, the subject of derisive newspaper articles. Possibly Stanley, who never set foot in Emin's province, though he waited very near it for nine months, feels aggrieved that for some reason or other, either on account of or in spite of Emin, he was unable to achieve his political aims or purposes."

Stanley's main endeavour was to remove Emin from Bagamoyo; the circumstance that Emin was still lying seriously ill did not matter very much to him. Immediately after the dinner which ended with Emin's accident, Stanley went to Zanzibar and from there agitated for Emin's removal to Cairo; but in this attempt he met with very energetic resistance on the part of the German Consul-General. On the 19th of December he attempted to enter into direct communication with Emin. For this purpose he sent a messenger to him with a letter in which he expressed his surprise at the fact that the German Consul-General had requested him by letter not to disturb Emin's rest. He thereupon informed Emin that the steamer would start next day for Egypt, and wished to know whether Emin would go by it. He requested him to inform the messenger, and expressed a hope that he would go by the steamer. At the same time he offered that, if Emin decided to go to Egypt by the steamer, he would have her brought to Bagamoyo, and do all he could to make him as comfortable as possible on board. Should his reply be a negative one, he wished him much happiness and bade him farewell. A second letter, which Stanley sent to Emin a week later (the 26th of December), indicates the fate of the

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former one. Stanley tells Emin that the messenger who carried the letter of the 19th of December had acquainted him with the reception accorded to him by Emin, and complained that he had been turned out, by Emin's direction, and ill-treated by the medical attendant. This, Stanley says, was the reply given to the messenger who was the bearer of his letter, and to this was added a threat that if the messenger ventured near again he should be hanged. He, Stanley, fails to understand this reception of his messenger. He again apologises for not having yet called on Emin at Bagamoyo, adding that the Consul-General's prohibition was quite unnecessary, as he knew how to behave in a sick-room. Stanley concluded this second letter with a repeated expression of his best wishes.

Thereupon he left Zanzibar.

The attempt to remove Emin from Bagamoyo, that is to say, from the German sphere of influence, having thus miscarried, endeavours were made to dispose of him in another way. Emin was attacked and calumniated throughout the Press. We will only give one instance to show what means were resorted to depreciate Emin's abilities in the eyes of the world. Parisian journals suddenly published a notice to the effect that Dr. Parke, the medical man attached to Stanley's expedition, had declared that Emin Pasha would certainly lose his sight within a year. The *National Gazette* proved at the time that this statement was a pure invention, made solely for the purpose of representing Emin as a man who was thenceforth to be quite an unconsidered factor in connection with any responsible political appointment; the German paper did this by reminding Dr. Parke that at the very time when he had Emin under medical treatment for his eyes, Stanley had offered Emin a governorship in the Congo State or under the British East Africa Company, so that at that time there seemed to be no apprehension of Emin losing his sight, and probably there was no justification for it now.

The aims pursued by Stanley soon became apparent. As far back as the 21st of January, 1890, the *Vossische Zeitung* stated :—

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"A report is going the rounds of the Press, to the effect that after his restoration to health Emin would find a most suitable sphere of operation for his future activity in the service of the Egyptian Government, either in Suakim on the coast of the Red Sea, or in Wadi Halfa, the southernmost frontier station of the Egyptian realm, situated on the banks of the Nile, near the Second Cataract. We may explain that they flatter themselves with the hope that he, in preference to all others, will succeed in making good the Anglo-Egyptian defeats, entering into peaceful negotiations with the Mahdists, regaining the lost Soudan, and making the railway from Suakim to Berber (north of Khartoum), already planned by Ismail, the former Khedive, as being the most convenient commercial highway from the Red Sea to the Soudan.

"This sounds exceedingly hopeful and reads beautifully; the more's the pity that these fancies are in contradiction to plain facts. Who would believe that the Mahdists, the most fanatical of all professors of modern Islam, would be induced by Emin Pasha to lay down their arms forthwith and hand over their newly-founded realm to the present Khedive, or, in other words, to the English Government? The undeniable successes gained by them in battle, in the regions they have conquered and occupied as far south as Wadelai, their great victory over the Christian king of Abyssinia, and the increasing number of their fighting men, preclude any idea of voluntary submission. For Emin Pasha, a sojourn in Suakim or in Wadi Halfa would be like banishment to desolate regions; for these places, as compared to Wadelai, are like a desert after paradise. It would not be the first time that a prominent personage who had become inconvenient to the Egyptian Government had been 'promoted' to an appointment in the south, with a nominal elevation of rank, in order to put a check, once for all, on his activity and abilities and consign his name to oblivion." The London correspondent of the *Berlin Gazette* spoke still more plainly a couple of weeks later:—

"LONDON, *February 1st.*

"Emin Pasha is, and will remain, at least for the present, at

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Bagamoyo. In spite of the urgent requests and desire of the German doctors, he refused to remove to Zanzibar, and has now left the hospital and taken a private house, in which he has settled down comfortably, surrounded by native servants only. This report comes as a surprise to those who believe that Emin, after having been 'rescued,' was anxious to return to the civilised world, and to visit Europe. He is now sufficiently recovered to be able to start on the voyage, yet he does not do so ; acting contrary even to the advice of the medical men, he is settling down at Bagamoyo. Why? What has induced Emin to alter his decision, to leave his wishes unfulfilled and remain on the threshold of Central Africa instead of starting on the projected journey? It cannot be denied that Emin had cause for dissatisfaction, which might make a return to the civilised world with its hollow courtesies distasteful to him ; but this dissatisfaction alone, however justified, cannot be a sufficient reason for such a departure from set plans in the case of a man of Emin's stamp. There should be more weighty reasons for this, and in fact such reasons exist ; we cannot at present say with certainty of what nature they are or to whom they are to be traced, but we shall not be far wrong in looking for these reasons in an intrigue which the representatives of British interests, and more especially of the British East Africa Company and Stanley, have got up in Zanzibar, and which has been further developed by Stanley in Cairo.

"The object in view is to gain the Equatorial Province for England ; to this end Emin's removal is considered indispensable. Stanley did not find Emin inclined to throw his influence into the balance in favour of England ; he 'rescued' him, and it appears that he had instructions to effect this rescue in a certain (that is to say, the existing) event at any price ; this is proved by the fact, as Stanley himself stated in Cairo, that he was instructed and resolved to render Emin's position impossible by the destruction of all the powder-stores, thus compelling Emin to accompany him to the coast. As a matter of fact, there was no need to go to extremes ; Emin went of his own accord. On this occasion Stanley once more satisfied himself as to the great value of the Equatorial

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Province and the considerable influence exercised in the country by Emin, who had established a well-ordered administration there. Emin was, and still is, in spite of everything, a great power in the province so long governed by him; if he were to return to Wadelai at the head of a properly equipped expedition, the whole country would at once side with him; the soldiers are devoted to him, as was clearly shown on the occasion of the officers' mutiny; according to Jephson's testimony, the natives looked up to him as to a father. They would receive him with open arms, and Emin would once more be master of the Equatorial Province and could dispose of it as he might choose, that is to say, he could exert his influence in favour of whomsoever he liked. Stanley knows, however, that Emin will not exercise his influence in favour of the British East Africa Company. Consequently it is in the English interest that Emin's return should be prevented.

"What was now done in Cairo? Stanley, in the first place, told the Khedive that the Equatorial Province was by no means lost, that it could and must be reconquered. At the same time he praised Emin as he had never done before; but how? Let us say it outright, in a jesuitical manner. 'Emin,' he said, 'is an excellent man; one could scarcely imagine a better Governor; there is no one who could treat with the natives and gain their confidence and their affection like him; he could render extraordinary services to Egypt; he has only one fault' (and it is here that he showed the cloven hoof), 'he is not strict and resolute enough; the military affairs would have to be placed in other hands; Emin would have to be Civil Governor and have a Military Governor by his side; if so, he could do excellent service at Wadi Halfa or Suakim.'

"After having thus prepared the Khedive, Stanley told him that Emin's most heartfelt desire was to receive an assurance that the Khedive was willing to avail himself again of his services. 'This,' said Stanley, 'would be the best medicine for him and would restore him to health,' and the Khedive replied he would at once transmit this medicine to Emin by telegram. It was done. An hour after, the Khedive offered

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him a new appointment in the Egyptian service. The nature of the appointment has not yet become known, although weeks have since elapsed, but one may imagine it. Emin does not hasten to Cairo to thank the Khedive; he simply remains in Bagamoyo. Why? Because the medicine was not to his taste; because it was dispensed from a recipe prescribed by Stanley. The Khedive, so rumour says in Suakim, now offered, to the man who for thirteen years had held for him a province long given up for lost, an appointment as Civil Governor under a Military Governor, and Emin did not accept this 'medicine,' which was to lower him to a subordinate position. He knows, just as well as Stanley, and probably better, that the Equatorial Province is not lost, and he will not permit himself to be ousted in its reconquest. It is his province, and lest he should be taken unawares by a *coup de main*, Emin prefers to renounce his most ardent desire of revisiting Europe; he remains at Bagamoyo, in the German coastland district, like 'faithful Ekkehart' of old, a sort of watchman to the Equatorial Province.

"It is said that Emin is now firmly resolved to return to Wadelai; he simply intends to forestall Stanley, and not to leave the reconquest of his province to other men, who might, under the Egyptian flag, render British influence paramount, and thus endeavour to secure for England another and certainly not the least valuable portion of Africa.

"People in interested circles here are very angry at Emin's obstinacy in remaining at Bagamoyo; Emin has seen through their plans, and evidently means to cross them. Now all their hopes are based on the expectation that he will not find means to fit out an expedition strong enough to get back to Wadelai, an expectation which we trust is doomed to disappointment."

The telegram above referred to, from the Viceroy Mehemet Tewfik, is dated the 14th of January, and runs as follows:—

"J'ai reçu avec grand plaisir de vos nouvelles par Stanley qui vient de me témoigner tout l'intérêt qu'il prend à vous. J'espère que votre rétablissement ne sera pas lent et que vous pourrez nous rendre encore de bons services."

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This attempt on Stanley's part to keep Emin away from the Equatorial Province assumes a peculiarly strange aspect when we consider what Stanley himself not so very long before reported to the Emin Committee in London. He then expressed the following opinion on Emin's administration :—

“ Emin exhibited the very best qualities as a Civil Governor (Administrator) ; he was just, lenient, faithful, merciful and charitable towards the natives who placed themselves under his protection, and one cannot imagine a better proof of the veneration with which even his soldiers looked up to him than that he owed his life to his reputation for justice and clemency in the midst of the mutiny. Before he was taken prisoner, every hour which he could snatch from sleep was devoted to some useful purpose : to enriching his knowledge, to improving the situation of his subordinates, to the spread of civilisation. The exemplary order and cleanliness at every station in his province, the regular and willing payment of the half-yearly corn tax by his black subjects, and a hundred and one other things, not omitting the excellent condition in which his steamers were found even after very long service,—all these points serve to throw a light on this unique character, gifted with talents such as are rarely found in those who choose Africa for the field of their activity. It is probable that his devotion to the furtherance of science, and his impaired eyesight, may have rendered him incapable of performing those more severe duties which the conditions of his sphere of action appeared to call for. But we cannot blame him for finding scientific studies more to his taste than governing, for attaching more importance to the title of M.D. than to that of a Pasha, or for the fact that he was in danger of losing his sight. Seeing that he had to hold the book close to his eyes to be able to read it, how could he read the faces of the men around him, how perceive whether their eyes were flashing in anger and contempt or beaming with faith and love ? We can only admire him when we see him seizing every opportunity of rendering service to science, and, absorbed over a butterfly or a beetle, forgetting the court-martial which is on the point of deciding whether he is to be

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shot or handed over as a slave to the Mahdi. Considering everything, we are conscious, although some things may seem strange to us, that this man is worth all the sacrifices which we have made."

Enters German Service

HOWEVER, the efforts made on the part of the English were without success. On the 28th of February a telegram from Berlin arrived at the German Consulate-General at Zanzibar destroying all England's hopes of ever winning Emin over to her side, even assuming that any such hopes were still entertained. This document ran as follows :—

"I have the honour to inform the German Imperial Commissariat that the following telegram, intended for Major Wissmann, has just arrived at the Imperial Consulate :—

" 'BERLIN, 28th February, 11.30 a.m.

" 'Number 5. Reply to telegram Number 5.

" 'Emin Pasha's provisional engagement for foreign service ratified ; future definite appointment reserved. Formal order follows.

" 'COUNT BISMARCK.' "

On the following day the Imperial Commissioner wrote to Emin :—

" ZANZIBAR, *March 1st*, 1890.

" MY DEAR PASHA,—

" By the last telegram all doubt has been removed, and I must now devote all my care to the equipment of the expedition.

" I send Casati to you that he may proceed by the next mail, on the 6th, to Cairo, and take your resignation with him. Or perhaps it will be better for you to tender your resignation by telegram. The Sultan is advised as to your intention to engage men, and is quite agreeable.

" I leave it to your discretion whether you will come over now, or not until after the fight with Bwana Heri, that is to

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say, about the 10th of this month. I trust that your health is progressing satisfactorily.

"The Prince has intimated to England that Germany will avail herself of your experience. Hence 'up to the fight, my brave Toreador.'

"With kind regards,

"Yours,

"WISSMANN."

Thus Emin's entry into the German service was a settled matter. The impression made by this news in England soon revealed itself undisguisedly in the English Press. By way of illustration, we will only quote two extracts from leading British journals. The *Evening Standard* wrote :—

"The widespread sympathy for Emin Pasha will change to indignation if the latest news prove true. He has not only neglected a clear duty, but has turned against those friends to whom he owes freedom and life, and this on the paltry temptation of one thousand pounds sterling per annum, when he had the option of entering the remunerative service of the British Government, to whom he owed a great debt of gratitude. We cannot conceal from ourselves that a keen competition exists in Central Africa between Germany and England, and that if Emin is not acting for England he is acting against her. His well-known irresolution can scarcely be held to mitigate a conduct which borders on treason."

The *St. James's Gazette* expresses itself in a similar vein :—

"The news received from East Africa is of a painful nature. It must indeed be an unpleasant sensation to the individual as well as to nations, if there is cause to suspect that one has been fooled, whether by others or by one's own sympathy and enthusiasm. The expensive and superfluous relief of Emin has brought no advantage either to the rescuers or to the rescued. On the contrary, the rescuers now find out that their money and their enthusiasm have seriously prejudiced national interests. Although, perhaps, it may have been worth while to relieve Emin in order to afford Stanley an opportunity of still further adding to his

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great deeds as an explorer, it was certainly not worth while to relieve him for the purpose of presenting the German Government with a new and experienced leader of expeditions calculated to open a route into the centre of Africa. If Emin succeeds in re-establishing himself in his old province, the consequence will be that the frontiers of Germany in Africa will be considerably advanced to the north-west."

Chapter XXVII

PREPARATIONS FOR THE NEW EXPEDITION

WHILE the negotiations with the Government as to taking the lead of a new great expedition into the interior were still pending, Emin resumed his correspondence with the old friends whom he had already delighted for many a year with valuable consignments from the Equatorial Province. In these letters, too, we again and again find him giving vent to his joy and satisfaction at the fact that he was afforded an opportunity to work for his native country.

Thus, for instance, he wrote to Professor Dr. Paul Ascher-son :—

“BAGAMOYO, *February 26th*, 1890.

“HONOURED PROFESSOR,—

“I must apologise for having been unable until to-day to thank you for your kind letter of November 25th, which I received at a time when my hard African skull had received a nasty knock. With God’s help I am now so far restored that I am allowed to write for a short time and take short walks, and I therefore make it my business first of all to trouble you with a few lines.

“In the first place, as regards the few plants I have collected, I will forward them from Zanzibar, as I propose paying a visit there in a few days. I may say that I have taken great pains to collect objects of interest for you and Schweinfurth, and I have been fortunate enough to obtain from Dr. Stuhlmann, a zoologist who has been established in Zanzibar for some time, and who has called on me, some plants collected here (the collector is a native, named Mbaruk, and has

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collected for Hildebrand for years); he has also promised that he would let me have his future collections for you. It might perhaps be as well if you or Dr. Schweinfurth would write a few lines to Dr. F. Stuhlmann later on to incite him to greater zeal in collecting. I have also instructed a French lay-brother, F. Alexander, who has hitherto been collecting for Paris, to make me up as plentiful a collection as possible of the plants growing in his district, stipulating that the specimens should be well preserved. He lives at Mandera. As soon as these come to hand, I will send them on, and you will then be kind enough to tell me whether you would like any more. I myself will endeavour to collect for you wherever I go.

"Between ourselves, it is fairly certain that I shall not leave African soil at present, and I do not think that Egypt, above all other places, will be my next destination. But it is just on this account that I would ask you a favour. If you could without much trouble send us two pairs of wire covers and a quantity of paper for plants, please do so as soon as possible, forwarding same to the address of the Consulate-General or of the Imperial Commissariat at Zanzibar, to be forwarded to me. Major Wissmann, with his usual courtesy, will see that the parcel is delivered to me.

"The situation in the Hinterland is of such a complicated nature, and, in view of English intrigues, speedy action is so urgently called for, that it is quite possible I may try my hand again before definitely retiring into private life, and as hitherto I have exerted myself for strangers, with little profit, I may now try to work for the good of my own native land. You know His Majesty the Emperor honoured me immediately on my arrival here. I should now like to do something in return. It would be premature to report to you to-day as to my plans and intentions, because certain conditions essential to their realisation are still wanting; but I hope and trust that in a few days all will be settled, and then I shall not fail to inform you as to my future movements. I have taken the liberty to enclose a Madagascar mat for you in a parcel for Dr. Schweinfurth, which I have entrusted to Sister Augusta Hertzner, of the hospital here,

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who is going to Cairo, and thence to Germany, and I beg you will kindly accept it.

"With the assurance of my profoundest respect, and requesting you to favour me soon with a few lines,

"I am,

"Yours faithfully,

"DR. EMIN."

Marks of Honour from the Fatherland

WE will mention a few only of the shoal of letters Emin received about this time from Germany.

Gerhard Rohlfs wrote from Godesberg immediately after Emin's arrival at Bagamoyo, saying that as long ago as 1888 he tried to send a message to Emin through some ivory merchants going into the interior to inform him of Carl Peters' expedition, and concluded his letter with the words: "All Germany is proud of you; all Germany welcomes you most heartily."

On the 1st of January, 1890, a letter was sent by the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty of Königsberg University, Professor Dr. Benzenberger, enclosing a diploma conferring the degrees of Phil.D. and M.A. *honoris causa* on their former student. Other distinctions followed later on, but did not reach Emin until after his departure for the interior. Thus, for instance, Professor Dr. Ratzel sent him the diploma of honour of the Geographical Society of Leipzig, Professor Freiherr von Richthofen the large gold medal, together with an address from the Geographical Society of Berlin, and the Geographical Society of London sent him their gold founder's medal; from Sweden he received the Vega medal, being the highest scientific distinction in that country. The Society for Commercial Geography at Stuttgart had already made Emin an honorary member.

On the 7th of March, 1890, Emin received a letter from the Imperial German Consul-General at Zanzibar, enclosing the insignia of the Second Class of the Order of the Crown,

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with a Star, which, as already stated, had been conferred on him.

The Breslau Academical Association "Armenia," the colours of which Emin had worn more than thirty years before, likewise remembered their former associate. When the German Emin Expedition was fitted out in 1888, one of his old colleagues availed himself of the opportunity and sent to Emin a poetical effusion in memory of old times. As reported at the time in the *Reichsbote*, Emin received this letter, and replied to it as follows :—

"BAGAMOYO, *March 30th*, 1890.

"MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,—

"My thanks to you have been so much delayed, partly by my illness and partly by the preparations for my new expedition into the land of mystery, that I feel somewhat ashamed to write to you now. But as you have been kind enough to remember me still, *per tot et tanta*, and to give pleasure to me as well as to all my friends by your charming poetry, I rely on your indulgence and forgiveness. I have been so long living among the black men that some excuse must be made for me. You may well understand how glad I should have been to again visit the old Temple of the Muses in Silesia and at the same time to pay a visit to the 'Armenia.' Unfortunately the course of events has not permitted this, and instead of drinking a good glass of beer at the 'Schweidnitzer' I must content myself with bad water in Central Africa. But no matter, my sphere of action now lies on African soil, and I suppose I shall leave my bones here. The edifice which I had built up by many years' indefatigable effort has collapsed. The simplest course now will be to commence afresh, but this time I will choose a more solid foundation. Hitherto I have been working and toiling for strangers; I will now utilise the short span of life that may still be allotted to me for the benefit of my native land. I am not able at this moment to give you full details of my enterprise; but, as we have now resumed our correspondence after an interval of twenty-five years, you will, I hope, permit me to trouble you now and then with

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a few lines. This will be a sort of holiday treat to me on my wanderings in the interior, and in the midst of B . . . [word illegible] and other charms of Africa it is certainly gratifying now and then to be able to chat with far-off friends. But the moral of all this is : you, too, must write sometimes. I have been so kindly received by my countrymen here that the time has slipped by unheeded, and I can scarcely believe that I have been here four months already. Still I shall be glad to get into the interior again and choose my own ground with my handful of men. While I am here I am condemned to complete idleness as regards scientific work and collecting, whereas in the interior every shrub presents something new. How my old master, Mr. Grube, would have rejoiced could he have accompanied me on my wanderings !

"You would greatly oblige me by letting me know what has become of all those who constituted the 'Armenia' in our time. I know absolutely nothing of any of them, and yet I am still fond of the old colours and should be glad to hear again of those with whom we fraternised. For your special edification, I send you the annexed caricature of the 'Divine Image,' the best that could be produced in Zanzibar. Please accept it kindly and reciprocate it by sending yours. My photograph album is my pride, because it was compiled in Central Africa, and is wholly made up of contributions from my friends and collaborators. By way of explanation of the latter term, I may remark that by Gordon's orders a small body consisting of twelve Englishmen, Americans, Italians, etc., was allotted [? illegible] to me, out of whom five are still alive to-day. Alive to-day and dead to-morrow, that is a common thing in Africa ! I have therefore worked assiduously and endeavoured to render myself useful, unfortunately without great success.

"Be it so ! In the Orient one is apt to become a fatalist and console oneself with the 'Kismet,' the doctrine of the inevitable. If this time I should not return from my journey, I shall at least have the consolation of having once more lived among countrymen and having met with appreciation from all.

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"But enough for the present; do not notice anything * people may say about me, but save me a corner in your heart. If at any time you have a spare moment, remember that I am waiting for news from you.

"I remain, in old friendship,

"Yours faithfully,

"DR. EMIN."

It was probably at the suggestion of this same friend of Emin that as far back as 1888 the "Armenia" itself had removed the barrier which had hitherto separated it from its former member, which, as the reader will remember, was the consequence of disputes to which we alluded at the time. Now that Emin had returned to the coast from Darkest Africa and had embarked in the service of the German Empire, on new expeditions of discovery, the "Armenia" bestowed on him the "Old Members'" badge. Although Emin did not learn this until after he had left Bagamoyo, we will take this opportunity to reproduce his reply to the "Armenia." It runs as follows:—

"GERMAN STATION OF BUKOBA, WESTERN BANK OF
LAKE VICTORIA NYANZA, *November 28th, 1890.*

"MY DEAR FELLOW-MEMBERS,—

"If ever the old echoes of youthful joys and youthful dreams revived in my heart, it was at the moment when your fraternal greetings reached me here in the remote interior of Africa. Old scenes reappeared before my mind's eye, which the rough every-day life seemed to have long obliterated—reminiscences which I thought had long been buried. I thought of days when I could still dream and hope, of friends with whom I spent many a happy hour, including some who have long been slumbering beneath the turf. Although fate has led me, after an erratic career, into paths widely diverging from yours; although I have had to go on my way lonely and forsaken, and frequently enough have felt the bitterness of being estranged from all the world, yet I have always endeavoured to hold fast to one thing,—a firm belief in the ideals we aimed at as members of the Association, a belief in the eternal principle of good, the eternal principle of beauty

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in the world, the belief in the ideal nature of mankind. And it is just this that justifies the existence of the Association and is a guarantee for its prosperity in the future. It is the guardian of all that should be highest and dearest to us, the guardian of true humanity and unselfish endeavour. I heartily thank you for your mark of love, and believe me that I look upon your having made me your honorary member as a proof that the course now taken by me is the correct one, and that I am not bringing disgrace upon my old 'Armenia' in my capacity as a pioneer of progress in Africa. May the old 'Armenia' long grow and flourish, *hurrah!*

"Your fellow-member,

"DR. EMIN PASHA."

This letter is preserved as a valuable memento of the great explorer; handsomely framed, it now adorns a pillar in the meeting-place of the "Armenia" in the Mauritiusplatz at Breslau, being frequently the object of eager interest. Though rather late in the day, he was also entered in the "album" of the Association as an honoured "Old Member."

Lastly, we may add an address of welcome from the German Emin Pasha Committee which was despatched from Germany before Emin arrived at the coast. This was handed to Emin at the German Hospital in Bagamoyo after his recovery. It ran as follows:—

"MOST HONOURED SIR,—

"On behalf of the German Emin Pasha Committee, I have the honour to send you a message of welcome from your old home and to inform you of the efforts which have been made in the Fatherland with the object of relieving you, but which unfortunately have not met with success.

"Sympathy for our excellent countryman who, far in the interior of Africa, cut off from all intercourse with the cultured world, in the interest of civilisation, held the post entrusted to him by the former Egyptian Government with admirable perseverance, had year by year increased and become widespread throughout Germany. In the spring of 1888, when almost every probability of Stanley's expedition

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ever reaching its goal had disappeared, patriotic men, inspired with enthusiasm for the colonial interests of Germany, resolved to fit out a German Emin Pasha Expedition, to carry help to you and to the cause of civilisation and humanity you represented. Privately, as well as by public appeals, contributions were collected, and Dr. Carl Peters, the founder of the German colonial possessions in East Africa, was selected by common consent as the leader of the expedition.

“Subsequently, when Major Wissmann, the present Imperial Commissioner, returned to Germany, it was arranged that the leadership of the relief expedition should be divided between the two above-named gentlemen; Wissmann to advance with a military detachment, while Dr. Peters was to follow with the main body of the expedition. All preparations were well in hand, when suddenly the Arab insurrection broke out on the Zanzibar coast, thus blocking the route the expedition was to take through the German protectorate of German East Africa. Wissmann then proposed to advance with his column up the Tana river to the Kenia mountains and the Baringo lake, and thence to Wadelai. This plan having met with the approval of the Committee, he was already engaged in fitting out his column, when he received orders to place himself at the disposal of the Empire for the purpose of recovering German East Africa. Thereupon Dr. Peters once more took the command of the expedition, as sole leader. He left here early in February, and arrived in Zanzibar at the end of March, with Wissmann. On the voyage out he had an interview, at Aden, with Count Teleky and Naval Lieutenant von Höhnel, the Austro-Hungarian travellers, who had just returned from the Kenia mountains, as well as with Professor Schweinfurth and Major von Wissmann, and, after an exhaustive discussion with these gentlemen, he decided in favour of the Tana route, recommended by Wissmann.

“In his movements connected with the organisation of the expedition, Dr. Peters encountered great difficulties, particularly those placed in his way by the English. The Commander of the English blockade squadron prevented him

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from landing within the region of the coast blockaded by England ; permission to land the Somali soldiers he had enlisted was refused at Lamu ; the steamer *Neera*, chartered by him, was unlawfully captured by English vessels. When, about the middle of June, 1889, he eventually succeeded in landing in Kwaihu Bay, north of Lamu, and was proceeding *vid* Witu towards the Tana river, as also on his way up this river, he again met with great obstacles of various kinds, which he only overcame at a great sacrifice of time ; but he surmounted them with unflinching courage and admirable perseverance, and, according to the news last received, through some members of the expedition who subsequently followed him, he arrived safely at the Kenia mountains last October, while, according to other reports, his expedition is said to have been surprised and annihilated by the natives, he himself being among the killed. But as yet we know nothing definite as to his fate. Whatever his destiny may have been, this much is certain : that he and his companions risked their lives to relieve you, honoured sir, as a fellow-countryman and a bold pioneer of European civilisation. I believe that I am discharging a duty towards Dr. Peters and the members of his expedition by bringing this to your knowledge. By the time that this letter reaches your hands, you will probably be better informed as to the fate of Dr. Peters than we ourselves are at this moment. If, as we hope and trust, he is still alive, it would certainly be very gratifying to him to receive a few lines of acknowledgment from you. Our Zanzibar agents, Messrs. Hansing & Co., will be pleased to forward any letter from you to Dr. Peters by the safest possible route.

“ In conclusion, I have the honour to inform you that the Emin Pasha Committee has placed at the disposal of Major Wissmann, the Imperial Commissioner, at his request, by cable, a certain sum for the purpose of procuring provisions, and the like for yourself and your men, and of sending forward such supplies to meet you on your way ; I trust that they have been sent on to you in good time, and have proved useful.

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"With the expression of the highest esteem, I have the honour to be,

"V. HOFMANN, *ex-Minister of State*,

"President of the German Emin Pasha Committee.

"BERLIN, *the 29th of November*, 1889.

"Dr. Schnitzer (Emin Pasha), Zanzibar."

We may mention here that Major-General Liebert, the present Governor of German East Africa, at that time a major, was then travelling in that protectorate for purposes of study, by order of the Foreign Office, and he also had occasion to make Emin's acquaintance. In a letter subsequently written by him to Professor Kirchhoff at Halle, he expressed himself as to the impression made upon him by the explorer as follows :—

"When out there I had most friendly intercourse with Emin and Casati. I like Emin very much. I trust we may yet look forward to great things in the way of geographical exploration and research in the domain of natural history in the still unexplored north-western corner between Victoria and Tanganyika. He is a man in whom the most absolute confidence may be placed. It would be very gratifying if he and his German companions were to definitely solve some of the problems which Stanley has raised or left unanswered ; such, for instance, as determining the position of the banks of Lake Victoria. When I travelled back with Casati from Zanzibar to Aden, he was still somewhat of a *Mshensi* (savage), an uncut diamond, but at the same time thoroughly genuine and without reproach, but at the mere mention of Stanley's name he would clench his fists."

In a letter written to Germany about the middle of March, Emin for the first time mentions that he was firmly resolved to start again for the interior in the service of Germany. He writes as follows :—

"BAGAMOYO, *22nd March*, 1890.

"HONOURED SIR,—

"I suppose I need scarcely tell you how greatly pleased I was at receiving your kind letter, and the only reason why I have hitherto delayed replying to it is that I have been

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overwhelmed with all sorts of business. I hope that by the time my letter reaches you I shall be on the way, this time under the German flag, and I trust I shall succeed in proving to my friends that I am still capable of something.

"It is a matter of indifference to me what may be said about me and my abilities, in newspaper articles and 'dinner speeches.' I thank you most heartily for your kind exertions on behalf of my men; I daresay there are some very deserving fellows among them, but, unfortunately, the majority are worthless. Vita Hassan would have done much better if he had remained here; there is scarcely any chance of his making his fortune in Egypt. Be cautious in your dealings with Osman Latif; he is a thorough scamp.

"I have long been endeavouring to ascertain Junker's address at Vienna; it was only from the letter I received from you that I obtained it, and am now able to write to him. Be kind enough to let me hear from you again at an early date; no doubt I shall write you again before my departure.

"With kind regards,

"Yours faithfully,

"DR. EMIN."

The principal source of news concerning the period which followed lies in Emin's letters to his sister Melanie, who was living at Neisse. It will be chiefly this correspondence that we shall have to follow up as regards the next few months.

It is only occasionally that we are in a position to refer to other documents.

During his preparations for the new expedition he wrote to his sister :—

"BAGAMOYO, 23rd March, 1890.

"DEAR MELANIE,—

"My hearty thanks for your photo and your exquisitely short letter of the 5th of February, 1890, which was forwarded to me yesterday by the British Consul; it arrived by the English mail, and hence was delayed. You would do best to mark your letters in future '*vid* Marseilles'; at least, until the projected direct German line of steamers has actually been established. The letters should moreover bear, under-

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neath my address, the words, 'German Imperial Commissariat'; then I shall be sure to get them.

"I do not know whether the enclosed photo will give you any idea of my present appearance, but it is the best to be had here, and I am told that it bears at least some resemblance; that is to say, that it is superior to all the caricatures hitherto published. [This photo has served as the original of the portrait placed in front of the title-page of this book.—*Editor's note.*] Notoriety has its drawbacks; I have experienced this in every direction. Just imagine; yesterday I received a letter from Westphalia, in which a gentleman informs me that his birthday is on the same date as mine, so he sends me his congratulations! Do not worry about me. Apart from some little difficulty in swallowing, I am tolerably well; I took a ride yesterday for the first time. I spent about a fortnight in Zanzibar as the guest of Said Ali, the Sultan; the constant fatigue of receiving and returning visits, and transacting all sorts of business, thoroughly agreed with me. I took this opportunity to tender my resignation to the Khedive by telegram, but have not yet received any reply signifying acceptance, and am still awaiting the decision. I know quite well that in Egypt they are depending on me to commence the gradual re-occupation of the Soudan from Dongola; but I do not want any secondary position, and do not care to serve under English generals.

"I have enough to do, and Rohlf's has just published in the *Cologne Gazette* an appeal to the public for a subscription of 15,000 marks, to be given to me for the purposes of reoccupying my province.

"He writes to say that the matter is almost settled. However, I have forestalled him, and shall probably be on the way again before this letter reaches your hands. I should have much liked to pay you a visit, but it is absolutely impossible, as great political interests demand speedy action, and of course all personal inclinations and wishes must make way for these. We shall therefore have to postpone our meeting for some time; I trust it will not be long, as I suppose I shall return to the coast again some day. Moreover, my new sphere of action offers this great advantage, that we have postal com-

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munication here, although at indefinite intervals, so that I can get letters and books.

"The country is fairly quiet, and the Arabs will probably allow themselves to be persuaded by me, as their Sultan is very amicably disposed towards me. I must say that the result of the election at your place does not please me, as the social democrats have no sympathy for our endeavours and our labours, and, apart from that, we are all much affected by the resignation of Prince Bismarck and his son. But as our Emperor is particularly in favour of colonial aspirations, and anxious for the welfare of us all, we still hope for the best.

"My letters and the cable news will give you all information as regards my future labours in the interior. I have got up my expedition fairly well. I am the leader, and have with me Rochus Schmidt and Dr. Stuhlmann (a native of Hamburg) as officers, besides about 400 men. You may imagine what work and trouble is entailed by the equipment, provisioning, and supervising of such an expedition.

"I am leaving my things, as also my little girl Ferida, who sends you a kiss, in charge of my friends here. I meant to have sent you some money and asked you to come to live with me and educate my child, or, if you did not care to remain, to take Ferida back with you. Now I am going and unfortunately must leave her behind. Think whether you would care to come, and let me know your views. The salary I have in view is 20,000 marks, and this should be enough for both of us. I have a pretty estate here, and propose to have a house built on it, to be my home when I return. Wissmann is about to start for Germany, I believe in June, and will be most willing to bring you back with him if you like, and give you information about everything. My particular friend, Baron von Gravenreuth, is also going to Berlin. At any rate write very fully. I am leaving funds here at the Imperial Commissariat for Ferida, and shall leave instructions for them to assist you too.

"Unfortunately ladies' society is scarce here ; there are the Sisters at the German Hospital, and Creoles at the French Mission, the wife and sister of Mariano, my agent here, who speak German, and in Zanzibar the Sisters, Mrs. Pratt, wife

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of the American Consul, and Mrs. Smith, wife of the English Consul, some English mission ladies, as well as some very nice French ladies.

"Gravenreuth has just been here and promised me to give you every possible information. I am handing him a few lines to deliver to you.

- "The London Zoological Society have made me their corresponding member, and the Cairo and Vienna Geographical Societies have conferred on me honorary membership. So I have every reason to be satisfied.

"Write very soon. Give my kind regards to our relatives, and remember your brother,

"DR. EMIN."

Emin had also spoken to Major von Wissmann of his intention to purchase a *shamba* (estate), stating that he proposed to build a house there, as he meant to live in German East Africa on his return from the expedition, having no inclination to return to Europe.

As regards Emin's daughter, Ferida, mentioned in his letter to his sister, Major von Wissmann also informs us that, although Emin was not in the habit of speaking of his marriage, he acknowledged Ferida as his legitimate child. Emin had forgotten to make a will in her favour before starting for the interior, so Major von Wissmann sent a messenger after him; and then Emin drew up a will in Ferida's favour, and at the same time wrote to Major von Wissmann, commending his daughter to the Major's care. As long as Wissmann was in Africa he regularly inquired as to Ferida's welfare, and saw that her nurse received the sum fixed for her by Emin, his only cause for regret being, as he expressly remarked, that the nurse was so little suited to be Ferida's companion.

Of course the new expedition was fitted out at the expense of the German Government. The Imperial Commissioner placed commissioned and non-commissioned officers and men at Emin's disposal, and their equipment and armament, as well as one cannon, goods and preserved provisions—in short, everything except the Pasha's wardrobe—was provided at the expense of the Government.

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Lieutenant Schmidt, as already stated, was at first told off to accompany the expedition, but in the end he did not go, as he fell out with Emin shortly before the expedition started. Consequently Dr. Stuhlmann (at that time an officer in Wissmann's troop) was the only officer that accompanied the expedition. The question of salary was also a matter dealt with at Zanzibar. Emin asked for a salary equal to that hitherto allowed him by the Egyptian Government, viz., 20,000 marks per annum. Wissmann reported this to Berlin ; it appears that at first the Government hesitated. At any rate, on April 6th the following letter reached Emin at Bagamoyo :—

“ ZANZIBAR, *6th April*, 1890.

“ German Imperial Consulate.

“ J. No. 536.

“ I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that the following telegram, intended for Your Excellency, has just been received at the Imperial Consulate :—

“ ‘ BERLIN, *5th April*, 7.45 p.m.

“ ‘ Please report in writing on the offers made to you by Stanley and the British East Africa Company as to entering the service of England or the Congo State.

“ ‘ MARSCHALL,

“ ‘ *The Imperial Consul-General.*

“ ‘ By Order,

“ ‘ E. STEIFENSAND,

“ ‘ *Imperial Vice-Consul.*’

“ To His Excellency EMIN PASHA.”

Subsequently the salary of 20,000 marks per annum was granted, and arrears were paid from April 1st, 1890. It should, however, be mentioned that this matter was not decided when Emin started for the interior ; consequently he did not even know whether or how much the German Government intended to pay him for his services.

Emin deserves all the more credit for not having hesitated under these circumstances to start on the expedition, for he had lost his entire fortune through the fall of Khartoum, and

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his claim against the Egyptian Government for arrears of salary and out of-pocket expenses had not been settled. It is true, however, that he had the satisfaction of knowing that this last matter was in good hands. As the German Consul at Cairo subsequently reported to Berlin, Casati settled Emin's affairs there at the sacrifice of his own interests.

Meanwhile the equipment of the new expedition was nearly completed, and on the 30th of March Major von Wissmann handed Emin his instructions. The Major writes to the editor of this book as follows :—

“Emin received his instructions from me. As he was my senior, both in years and in African experience, I did not like the idea of his being subordinate to me. But Emin insisted on it, and repeatedly said : ‘There can and must be one head only ; you are the head here, and I willingly submit to you.’ ”

Emin's instructions ran as follows :—

“In accordance with instructions received by me from the Imperial Chancellor, and the arrangement made with Your Excellency, I have the honour to give you the following directions with regard to the mission undertaken by you :—

“(1) Your Excellency is to secure on behalf of Germany the territories situated south of and along the Victoria Nyanza Lake, from Kavirondo Bay and the countries between Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika up to the Muta Nzige and Albert Nyanza, so as to frustrate England's attempts at gaining an influence in those territories. I consider that the extension of the line from Kilimanjaro and the Kavirondo Bay to the north-west, up to the frontier of the Congo State, constitutes the Anglo-German frontier. Any extension warranted by circumstances, of the sphere of influences just described, would be regarded by me as redounding to Your Excellency's special merit.

“(2) When marching towards the Victoria Lake, Your Excellency will everywhere make known to the population that they are placed under German supremacy and protection. I request you to gain over and assist any well-disposed and suitable chiefs, and to break or undermine Arab influence as far as possible in all directions.

“(3) When reaching Mpwapwa, the farthest station,

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Your Excellency is requested to make a short stay there, thereby affording me an opportunity for taking advantage, if desirable, of the presence of Your Excellency's troops.

"(4) I am telling off Lieut. Rochus Schmidt, Lieut. Doctor Stuhlmann, three non-commissioned officers, and 100 men of the colonial force, and request Your Excellency to entrust Lieut. Schmidt with the special leadership of the detachment.

"WISSMANN,
"*Imperial Commissioner for East Africa.*"

There are two other letters dated at the period preceding the departure, which took place on the 26th of April. The first is addressed to the editor of this book, and runs as follows :—

"BAGAMOYO, 12th April, 1890.

"DEAR GEORGE,—

"May I request you to arrange subscriptions for me for the following journals: Westermann's *Monatshefte*, Rodenberg's *Deutsche Rundschau*, Bodenstedt's *Tägliche Rundschau*, and any political paper (not socialistic, nor too much inclined to the extreme Left). I am leaving for the interior on the 21st inst. Should this come to much, you had better state the amount, and I will have it sent in advance through Major Wissmann. If it is not much, please write to Wissmann and ask him for the money. Address letters to me: Dr. Emin Pasha, Imperial German Commissariat, Zanzibar.

"Wissmann is going to Berlin; please go and see him there. I should be glad if Melanie would see Wissmann and Gravenreuth.

"Wissmann wants some one to write and publish articles there privately. To outsiders it must appear absolutely ridiculous that there are three or four sets of authorities here: the Navy pulls one way, the Consulate-General another, the German East Africa Company a third way, and the Imperial Commissariat a fourth. Only the last-named is really doing any work. Why not throw over the whole concern; make Wissmann Chief and Imperial Commissioner; give him a lawyer to act as Consul or Vice-Consul; make the Naval Department subordinate to him, and the English and all the

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rest will show us much more respect! Please write something to this effect.

“Write often, and give me news of the existing situation. Dr. Neubauer, of the *Kreuz-Zeitung* and the *Vossische Zeitung*, is here now.

“Very kind regards to you and yours, particularly to Grethe.

“Yours faithfully,
“DR. EMIN.”

The last letter, addressed to his sister Melanie, ran as follows :—

“BAGAMOYO, 20th April, 1890.

“DEAR MELANIE,—

“Once more I write to say good-bye. To-morrow morning I hope I shall be starting with my fine expedition. There are 50 Wangwana men from Zanzibar, enlisted as soldiers, about 400 armed porters, beasts of burden, etc. The Europeans accompanying me are, Lieutenant Dr. Stuhlmann, Sergeant Kühne, and two Fathers belonging to the Algerian Mission, viz., P. Schynze, from the Rhine, and P. Achte, who is Flemish.

“Our first destination is Bukumbi, the French missionary station at the southern end of Lake Victoria, which I hope to reach in about two months. It will be a somewhat tedious march, because we are in the midst of the rainy season, and marching is no particular pleasure just now. But as we are in a great hurry to get up there lest others should forestall us, we must not mind the rain.

“I have bought an estate here, and will have a house built on it, so that if you come to see me at any time you may find me within my walls. It is a pretty large estate, situated close to the town, and is planted with cocoa-nut palms, mango-trees, pine-apples in abundance, but not much vanilla at present. Later on I propose to buy up the adjoining properties, and grow cotton, earth-nuts, etc., provided, of course, that I return safely. As the after-effects of my fall, I still experience a certain numbness on the right side of the head, and some difficulty in swallowing; I hope these symp-

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toms will disappear, as many others have done. I am now able to ride, and even to gallop.

"Ferida will remain here to learn German; I would gladly have taken her with me, but she must learn something. Wissmann will look after her.

"I am also leaving my servants here to attend to the garden. I have engaged two men-servants for myself, and shall take two or three naturalists with me; in fact, the expedition, as a whole, is to do a good deal in the way of scientific work. I have plenty of collecting instruments and appliances with me.

"The Royal Geographical Society of London has awarded me their large gold medal, the highest distinction granted to geographers.

"To my great surprise and delight, I discovered here, or rather in Zanzibar, a lady who knows you personally; she has seen a good deal of you, and speaks of you in terms of great affection. She is the wife of Captain Elson, commander of the steamer *Barawa*, belonging to His Highness the Sultan. The captain, too, is a native of our immediate neighbourhood, and is well known in Neisse. He sends me the *Silesian Gazette* regularly.

"In fact, there are a good many Silesians here: Von St. Paul, Von Zelewski, d'Elpons, Söhns, Dr. Behrend, Schmidt, Von Arnim, etc.

"Wissmann has given me 50 Soudanese soldiers, two non-commissioned officers, and the requisite materials, guns, etc. Mr. von Bülow will accompany me from Mpwapwa; I knew his father in Smyrna.

"I have had so much to do that I scarcely know whether I am on my head or my heels. Now I have done, and all is ready. The gentlemen here will accompany me about a couple of hours' journey, and I shall then proceed alone. To my great sorrow I hear that Mackay, my old friend, has died on the banks of Lake Victoria. I only hope the report may prove unfounded. And now good-bye, and God bless you. I commend my Ferida to you. You shall hear from me again when I am on my way.

Your brother,

"EMIN."

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Finally, we may here quote from one of Emin's letters referring to the organisation of the German Protectorate and its future. It was written during the preparations for the new expedition and addressed to Captain Camperio. It was first published in the *Esploratore*, and runs as follows :—

“Businesslike and proper administration, tending to give an initial impetus to the development of native industry, will accomplish more than all the pompous and grandiloquent circulars which are only designed to conceal the evil by denying it or minimising its extent. A complete separation of the negro territory from the Arab districts, or those in which the Arabs predominate, should be aimed at, and the territories should be placed under an autonomous administration of their own. . . . The Arabs, found scattered throughout the territory without fixed residence, and without any hope of ever amalgamating with the native elements or gaining any preponderance over them, and who, without exception, are thieves or beggars, must be removed or sent back to their native land without any chance of ever returning. If the new province were thus once purged of an element always dangerous and frequently fatal, it would not be very difficult to introduce a system of law and order based on justice, which, at any rate, would provide for the most urgent requirements . . . Unlimited power in the hands of the European Governor, free trade, unrestricted access for merchants to the market, facilities for traffic, furtherance and encouragement of agricultural pursuits, elementary schools,—these should be the primary and fundamental reforms. Above all, we should endeavour to enlist the confidence of the negroes, and gratitude, if not self-interest, once they were convinced of the value and significance of the prosperity offered, would soon induce them to tread willingly in the new paths assigned to them.”

The following extract, from the German *Colonial Gazette*, will show what confidence Germany placed in Emin, when he started on his first expedition under the German flag :—

“As regards the problems to be solved in East Africa, it is in our opinion a very happy omen that we have succeeded in bringing to a successful issue the negotiations commenced

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some time back with a view to inducing Emin Pasha to enter the German colonial service. That England begrudges him to us is the best proof—if such were wanted—of the excellence of this unique personage, who after thirteen years' residence in the tropics, barely recovered from the effects of an accident that nearly proved fatal, again starts for the interior, presumably to safeguard the German sphere of interests and to combat the slave trade. With such a leader, who knows how to treat with Arabs as well as natives, we ought to have no difficulty in guiding into the proper channels the course of the civilising mission entrusted to us, and possibly in gaining over the opponents of our colonial policy in our own country sufficiently far to make them look upon our endeavours towards colonial expansion as something more than mere sport, buoyed up for the moment by a wave of transient popularity."

The official utterances of the German Government were couched in similar language. Herr Liebert, the present Governor of German East Africa, at that time a simple Major, said at the meeting of the German Diet on the 13th of May, 1890:—

"It cannot signify to us whether our colonial possessions represent so many square miles more or less, but it is of paramount importance that we should secure the Hinterland, as far as we possibly can, so as to direct the important products of the interior towards our ports. This is the object of the expeditions now sent out. The main object is to secure the caravan routes and the mission stations in the interior. One of these expeditions is the much-discussed one under Emin Pasha. Emin is a man of excellent character, a German of thoroughly national sentiments, at the same time a thorough savant, that is to say, an unostentatious savant to whom scientific and geographical exploration come before everything. It was on this account, and in view of his long years of work in the interior of Africa, that the Imperial Commissioner enlisted his services, because Emin being a man of thoroughly peaceful disposition, he looked upon him as a most desirable leader of the expedition. Hence it is under the auspices of Emin's name and destinies that we propose to carry on a peaceful policy in the interior. By his

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fifteen years' activity there, Emin has acquired that boundless patience which is necessary in order to carry through a palaver with negroes ; he will frequently parley with them over mere trifles for one, two, or even three days, when any other European would soon lose patience. It is precisely through these palavers being impatiently broken off by Europeans, that so many difficulties have cropped up and so much war and bloodshed have been caused in Africa. We hope that, by enlisting Emin Pasha's services, we have secured a peaceful leader for the expedition, for this expedition is intended to be a peaceful one."

Chapter XXVIII

STARTS FOR THE INTERIOR

ON the 26th of April, 1890, the expedition was ready to start. In place of Lieutenant Schmidt, a younger officer, Lieutenant Langheld, was placed in charge of the soldiers. In addition to Emin, Dr. Stuhlmann and Langheld, five more Europeans took part in the expedition; viz., Father Schynze, who had already accompanied Stanley on his expedition from the Victoria Nyanza to the coast, and Father Achte, the two Sergeants Krause and Kühne, and Colour-Sergeant Hoffmann. The caravan itself consisted of 54 native regulars and 49 irregular Askaris and 592 porters. Besides these, several hundred men joined the caravan with the object of travelling under its protection. Emin was also accompanied by his old secretary Rejeb Effendi, his dragoman Makyera (a native of Unyoro), and a naturalist skilled in the preparation of bird-skins, while Dr. Stuhlmann was attended by Mabruk, his huntsman and plant-collector.

On the day the expedition started, Emin recommenced entries in his diary. At the same time he sent regular accounts of his travels to his sister at Neisse, and it is to these accounts that we shall mainly adhere in the following pages. The first of these letters was written about 90 miles west of Bagamoyo. It runs as follows:—

“MROGORO (EAST AFRICA), *May 15th*, 1890.

“DEAR MELANIE,—

“I informed you in my last letter that I should very shortly start, and so it turned out. I should certainly have preferred waiting a few weeks longer, because the rainy season is bad

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for marching, and as a rule many men are lost through sickness and desertion; but it could not be helped, as His Majesty was most anxious that the expedition should proceed as soon as possible.

"We left Bagamoyo on the 26th of April, under a salute, with the German flag floating proudly in the air; all the officers, not prevented by official duty, accompanied us some distance to start us on our way.

"You must excuse me from giving details of our first day's marches, as it would simply be an enumeration of troubles and trials. When slowly trudging in the pouring rain, through mud and water often up to our knees, with the road a veritable bog, one is sorry for the poor porters, wet to the skin, panting under a load of 50 to 60 lbs. on their shoulders, and every now and then tumbling down and splashing us all over with mud. But the worst of all is to be doomed to take geographical surveys in such weather, when one's paper gets spoilt by the rain and one's numbed fingers refuse to write. During these marches, though really short—only two or three hours a day—we suffered a great deal and lost a number of men. Some Wanyamwesi porters simply died of exhaustion, and a number of Wangwana men (from Zanzibar and the coastlands) threw their loads away and decamped. And then, there was the trouble of procuring new porters and getting all the loads away. Unfortunately we have many on the sick-list, daily consuming a quantity of drugs I can ill afford to spare.

"We arrived here the day before yesterday and pitched our camp. In the centre is my own tent, in front of it the gun and the flag; the arms neatly piled in the foreground, and the loads arranged in three heaps, consisting respectively of ammunition, cloth, and provisions. Each heap is neatly piled up and protected with waterproof covers. A sentry mounts guard in front of the ammunition. At either side of my tent there is a tent for an officer; beyond these, on the right and left, a tent for each sergeant, the soldiers being on one side and the porters on the other.

"Every morning Lieutenant Langheld drills the men, sometimes with firing practice. Dr. Stuhlmann inspects the porters

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and the loads. The non-commissioned officers, all of them Germans, have arranged their duties between them. Sergeant Hoffmann has taken charge of the loads and porters; Sergeant Krause looks after the soldiers and our mounts (we have three horses and four good donkeys), and Sergeant Kühne sees after the cooking, provisions and tents. As you will see, the duties are well divided. Every morning and evening the officers make their reports to me and receive their orders. Then each one goes to his post. It is only at meal times that we all meet together; the non-commissioned officers take their meals with us. The evenings of course we spend smoking and chatting.

"Whenever we can spare time, we collect assiduously, and I have already quite a presentable show of birds, insects, etc.

"To-day, accompanied by the two officers, I paid a visit to the French missionaries here; we were all on horseback. The mission is situated in the mountains, about an hour's journey from my camp, and is a model of industry and well-directed energy. The buildings are model ones; a little stream flows through the yard, which is planted with cocoa-nut palms. All around are beautiful gardens, coffee and vanilla plantations, etc., and all this has been created by the energy of three men, assisted by some forty negroes. The Fathers received us very kindly, for I am known as a great friend to the Catholic mission, and they are indebted to me for many favours. I may mention that the gentlemen speak German, being all of them Alsatians. In front of us, on our road, there is another mission station, Colanga, and then we shall come to the German station of Mpwapwa, where Herr von Bülow is in charge. Two hours from there, up in the mountains, lies Kisokue, an English mission station, from which we shall proceed through woods and fields to the Victoria Lake, where my good old friend Mackay, a Scotchman, resides.

"I shall write to you again from Mpwapwa, and that will probably be the last letter for some time to come, as opportunities for sending letters are rare and I must keep my men together. Yet I pray you to be kind enough to write once every month. You may easily ascertain at what time the

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French mail leaves Marseilles for Zanzibar. Write soon and remember

"Your brother,
"EMIN."

Emin also sent two reports from Mrogoro to the German Imperial Commissioner, in which he asks for more liberal assistance in the way of supplies of goods, etc. The equipment of the expedition does not appear to have been by any means in accordance with Emin's expectations and demands, and, owing to the lack of the goods applied for, he subsequently experienced many difficulties, which is the more to be regretted, as Emin wanted these things merely in the nature of an advance which he hoped to amply make up for by collecting ivory during his expedition. His reports run as follows:—

"MROGORO, 15th May, 1890.

(Received in Zanzibar on the 14th of June, 1890.)

"HONOURED MAJOR,—

"My short report of our journey, together with the enclosures, will acquaint you with the ill-luck which has pursued us, but we have struggled through and shall continue to do so. But please send the men; you might entrust to them the ammunition, etc., I have asked for. Tippu Tib is still in Manyema; I have written to him in your name and thanked him for the letter he addressed to you.

"Herewith is a letter from Rohlf; please write to him saying that we are in need of the money, or else ask Schweinfurth to do his best.

"May I ask you to have a small supply of paper, as well as some private notepaper and envelopes, sent on to me? Whatever you send me while I am here I am likely to get, but once I am beyond Ugogo there will be little chance of it. I trust you were successful in Kilwa. But, before you go to Germany, please arrange about the transmission of our mails, and above all do not forget to let us have a few lines now and then from our native land.

"We shall march as soon as all the river beds are dry. The Fathers will no doubt advise you as to the date of

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our departure ; so far I have not seen any of them. Please check the 'list of requisites.'

"The loads for Mpwapwa, as well as seventy-five of my own, have already been sent on. Lieutenant Schmidt took away two chests of cartridges and ammunition, 500 bore and twelve bore, besides three or four chests intended for the expedition. Please credit these stores to the expedition account.

"As regards the mails to be sent on to us, you might perhaps make arrangements with Mr. Massworthy, agent to the Church Missionary Society at Zanzibar. The missionaries formerly received a mail every month, and their letters reached the coast in forty days.

"Kindly favour me by sending some cotton. I shall be able to find some myself in Tabora.

"And now I will leave off worrying you. I fear you will soon get tired of me.

"I trust that all will go according to your wishes, and remain,

"Yours most faithfully,

"DR. EMIN."

The second letter, being a brief report on the events up to the time of writing, dates from the following day, and runs as follows :—

"MROGORO, 16th May, 1890.

"DEAR SIR,—

"I beg to report that the expedition has arrived here after a very arduous march. From the time we left the Kingani Ferry almost up to our arrival here we have constantly had to contend with the most unfavourable weather, which has turned all roads into quagmires and rivers. As our staff of porters, both Wanyamwesi and Wamerina, was made up of the very worst material, it is not surprising that a number of the men fell ill (eight Wanyamwesi died), and a number of Wamerina and one Suaheli soldier deserted, most of them taking away their rifles. I have already written to Mr. Ramsay on the matter, and requested him to

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take the necessary steps to capture these men with a view to recovering the arms and the advanced pay they had received.

“Sewa Hadjei has not yet sent me any list of the porters and soldiers, but has informed me that he lost the list in question. In order to obviate any difficulties that might arise from this, I have instructed Lieutenant Stuhlmann to draw up a list of the porters of the expedition, and Lieutenant Langheld to make out a list of the regular and irregular soldiers; but I am not yet in a position to judge what discrepancies may exist between this and Sewa's list. At any rate, I request you to have the list sent on to me as speedily as possible, as I have already found out that ninety-six instead of forty porters have only been engaged to go as far as Mpwapwa, so that when there the expedition will suffer a considerable decrease in the number of porters, and unless Stokes's porters arrive we shall have considerable difficulty in conveying our baggage. Unfortunately we have lost several loads through the deserters, and I have given instructions to the various local chiefs to try and recover them.

“I enclose an inventory of the ammunition, effects, and arms of the expedition.

“As various requirements have arisen in the course of the expedition, I venture to propose that the goods mentioned in my list should be entrusted to 150 porters; Stokes will procure the latter.

“It would be advisable to entrust to Mr. Stokes, on his return journey, all further supplies in the way of cloth and ammunition intended for the expedition.

“Do not on any account fail to send on with all possible speed the 150 porters referred to. I took the liberty to report from Simbamwene that Colour-Sergeant Hoffmann has volunteered and has been accepted by me for the expedition, and at the same time I requested that a renewal of his engagement might be granted for three years, together with the promotion promised. I now venture to renew this application.

“In respect to the country traversed on my journey, I

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can only report that the inhabitants everywhere willingly accept the new order of things and are grateful for the protection afforded to them.

"Peace and tranquillity reign everywhere, and on one occasion only did I hear of an Arab who had attempted slave-raiding. In order to purge the country of such occasional marauders, it would perhaps be advisable, as soon as the affairs concerning the coast have been definitely settled, to occasionally send out small patrols to scour the country as far as this.

"Needless to say, as far as circumstances have permitted, scientific work has not been neglected by the expedition.

"I hope to report on this subject from Mpwapwa, when I will send the first few collections. Probably we shall have to stay here two or three days to dry and repack the loads of cloth.

"Chief Kingo, who behaves in a very friendly manner, has been instructed to send men to the coast as soon as the rain ceases, in order to fetch the presents sent for him by His Majesty the Emperor. In conclusion, I have to commend the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the expedition for the zeal and devotion with which they have discharged their duties. I look upon this as auguring well for the success of the expedition.

"DR. EMIN PASHA,

"Chief of the Expedition."

Emin also found opportunities for sending reports to the Imperial Commissioner from several further points on the way, in all of which he again accentuates the insufficiency of the resources of the expedition. Thus, for instance, he wrote :—

"KIMAMBORA QUA KINGOMDOGO, 21st May, 1890.

"HONoured SIR,—

"It would be very desirable if we could succeed in establishing a fixed station at Karagwe, and another at Tabora, where the natives are expecting us and where absolutely no difficulty should exist. If we did this, we

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should doubtless meet with warm support from leading sections of the German press.

"Though the present expedition is quite sufficient numerically to justify the establishment of a station at either place, it would be desirable that both matters should be settled simultaneously; I therefore venture the request that, as soon as the Kilwa affair is settled, you will kindly send me a reinforcement of 150 soldiers, if possible under the leadership of Ramsay, with the requisite commissioned and non-commissioned officers, as well as the necessary ammunition, also two more cannon. The number just stated is quite sufficient to permanently garrison Karagwe, Unyanyembe, and Tanganyika, and maintain the authority of the Government. If a number of modern rifles is available,—the more the better,—it would be advisable to send them, so that we might gradually drill the liberated slaves and thus render ourselves independent of the heavily paid Soudanese. I commend these proposals to your kind consideration. Moreover, I repeat that apparently the present situation in Tabora is very favourable, and there would be little or no difficulty in the way of occupation.

"Please send your reply by express messenger, and, if the suggested expedition is organised, please provide them amply with arms and ammunition, and also with powder, lead, and percussion caps for our muzzle-loaders.

"Awaiting your kind reply,

"I am, etc.,

"DR. EMIN PASHA."

Again he writes :—

"FERHAMI, 26th of May, 1890.

"HONOURED SIR,—

"In accordance with the desire expressed by you, I have made it my business to come to terms with the Arabs of Kondoa. I asked the representatives of the settlement there to come to me, and called upon them to acknowledge the German occupation by hoisting the German flag over Kondoa, to submit to German law, abstain from all trespasses against the native population, and never to dare, while on their travels, to capture, purchase, or sell any slaves. I brought all this to

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the knowledge of the native chiefs in their own language, and directed them to report any transgressions immediately either to Bagamoyo or to Mpwapwa. After some deliberation, my demands were accepted, and I have therefore sent Lieutenant Langheld with a small detachment to Kondoa, in advance of the main body, to hoist the German flag there with the usual solemnities. In order to safeguard it, and for the arrangement of current matters, I have thought fit to appoint Bwana Sahir bin Suleiman, the most respectable among the Arabs here, who confines himself to agricultural pursuits, to act as Vali for the Arab colony, and have given him the requisite instructions. I now venture to propose that you should allow him, like all Valis, a small salary, say twenty-five rupees, and moreover give him a small present. Communications on this subject and transmission of presents and pay might be effected through Mpwapwa station, or, if necessary, through Père Horné at Lalanga.

“Relations of a permanent nature exist between Kondoa and Irangi, another more northerly Arab station; I have therefore requested the Irangi people to accept similar terms and notify their submission. But as at the present moment people from Irangi are at Bagamoyo or Zanzibar with Bwana Seifu bin Suleiman's caravan, which I passed on my way, it might be advisable to negotiate with them direct.

“Bwana Seifu has made bold to carry away the daughter of an Irangi, named Magrumali, doubtless with the object of selling her. The girl's name is Khingia. I have inquired into the matter, and take the liberty to request you to compel Seifu to restore the girl to her father, who is starting for Bagamoyo with a few lines from me to Mr. Ramsay. Prompt action in this matter will at one stroke gain over to us the whole of the Irangi population.

“In the interest of general security, regularity of transport, etc., it might be advisable to send Kingo Mdogo of Kinambira to Monba, and direct Père Machon to cause him to be acknowledged as principal chief of the country. The Said of Zanzibar formerly kept a station at Mto ja Maue which completely blocked the Saadani road. I recommend the above-mentioned project, which is approved of by Père

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Machon as well as by Kingo Mdogo and probably also by the other Kingo at Mrogoro.

"We have been considerably delayed in consequence of the rainy weather, and the terrible state of the roads caused thereby, and have lost many porters. But now things are improving, and as the weather is brightening I hope to make better progress than hitherto.

"I beg to renew my request for instructions concerning Tabora, and should be glad if permission were granted me to man the station, without of course jeopardising the expedition.

"DR. EMIN PASHA,
"Chief of the Expedition."

On the 3rd of June, the expedition arrived at Mpwapwa, where about seven months ago Emin had for the first time seen a German flag floating in Africa. He at once announced his arrival to the Imperial Commissioner as follows :—

At Mpwapwa

"MPWAPWA, 4th June, 1890.

"HONOURED SIR,—

"I beg to report that the expedition led by me arrived here safely yesterday about noon, and, notwithstanding the terrible weather, both men and beasts are in satisfactory condition.

"I am glad to be able to report that the appearance of Mpwapwa station has considerably improved, and that Herr von Bülow has managed to treat the natives around so as to inspire them with confidence, as is proved by the large number of *tembes* which have sprung up all round Mpwapwa (I counted over 100 of them). The buildings of the station are well constructed, the new well is still in hand, and, thanks to the use of good fresh or distilled water, the state of health at the station is excellent.

"In view of all these circumstances, and knowing that you permit me to freely express my opinion, I venture to request

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that Herr von Bülow may be left at his present post ; I find on inquiry that he is quite willing to remain. He has now become acquainted with the country and takes an interest in it, and is a practical and active worker. As he is about to conclude a treaty of friendship with the great chief of the Wahehe, his presence is absolutely indispensable here, and any personal change would only have the effect of estranging these people. If, however, you consider it desirable on principle to effect a change, I should be glad if you would attach Herr von Bülow to this expedition, in accordance with your former kind promise, with a view to his appointment as chief of a station in the interior.

"I have had the honour to see here the copy of a report sent to you by Herr von Bülow, on the strength of statements made by Stokes, which report unfortunately was not brought to my knowledge at Bagamoyo. I do not hesitate to assert that the Indians of Bagamoyo are doing a profitable business by the sale of arms and powder to caravans. In proof thereof I may mention the circumstance that powder is sent by them in large quantities to the Arabs at Tabora. I may also refer to the confiscation of rifles effected by me, as already reported. It is of absolutely vital importance, for the very existence of our rule, that no Arab caravan leaving Bagamoyo should be permitted to take any ammunition (powder, lead, percussion caps, etc.), also that natives should only be supplied with ammunition if they are known to be perfectly trustworthy, and even then only with a minimum quantity. The practice hitherto observed at Bagamoyo and in Zanzibar affords no sufficient safeguards.

"I would also urge that the English Consul-General (for the English missionaries) and the French missions be informed that they should not issue *Letters of Protection*, and more especially that they be prohibited from sending the pupils of the missions all over the country armed with breech-loading rifles. On my way I met a lad from the French mission, armed with a Mauser rifle, and yesterday a catechumen of the English mission armed with a Winchester rifle. If Arabs are not allowed to supply arms, neither Frenchmen nor Englishmen should be permitted to do so.

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"May I request you to let me have a copy of the regulations concerning the stamping of arms, etc., and if possible to have a stamp sent on to me? [It is surprising that such important regulations concerning the administration of the interior regions were not supplied to the expedition at the time of its equipment; not even stamps!—*German Editor's note.*] I also beg you will send me copies of all new regulations, and it might be desirable that the exact text of the conventions made with England concerning the respective spheres of interest should be procured from the Foreign Office and sent on to me.

"I remain, yours, etc.,

"DR. EMIN PASHA,

"Chief of the Expedition.

"P.S.—It is a peculiar fact, deserving your special attention, that the caravans coming from the interior loaded with valuable ivory, go to the coast almost without any arms and certainly without any powder, while they are permitted to bring back any quantity of ammunition and rifles for the protection of a few bales of cloth, etc. [They would be able to sell these in the interior.—*German Editor's note.*"]

In prompt compliance with his promise, Emin also wrote from Mpwapwa to his sister :—

"MPWAPWA, 6th June, 1890.

"I must not omit to send you a few lines before finally starting on my march into the interior, where no doubt opportunities for sending mails will be scarce. I wrote to you last from Mrogoro, where I had to stay a few days longer to dry our things, which were completely drenched.

"Since then I have been getting on tolerably well; the weather has improved, the rain having ceased; but it has now turned bitterly cold, and in spite of woollen rugs we are too often unable to sleep at night owing to the cold; besides, there is a very cold wind. We are now on the boundary of Ugogo, a country notorious for its winds, dust, scarcity of water, and the impudence of its inhabitants, quite a catalogue of bad qualities!

"I have sent some of my men ahead to find porters, and

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hope that I shall be able to get through this unpleasant tract speedily, provided that no disputes arise in regard to tribute, as I shall certainly not pay any. Once out of Ugogo, the rest of the way to the Victoria Lake will be mere child's play. On the route I hope to meet Dr. Peters, who led an expedition for my relief through the Masai country as far as Kioga; he is now proceeding *via* Uganda to Bukumbi on his return to the coast. He must have passed over an interesting part of the globe, and I shall be glad to congratulate him. I have suffered a very severe loss by the unexpected and sudden death of my friend Mackay, after three days' illness at his station of Usamiro, near the Victoria Lake. He was a genuine, unselfish fellow, free from all prejudice, highly cultured and capable. We had known each other and been friends for many years; he assisted me when I was stripped of everything. When I was his guest in September, 1889, and partook of his hospitality, I little thought I should so soon have to lament his death.

"This is common fate in Africa; how few of my old circle of friends still survive! Of Gordon's old officers there are but three left: Colonel Mason at Cairo, Colonel Prout at New York, and myself; and of all the Consuls and other men I have known, only two or three are left. Casati, who lived with me so long, is now in Italy, and not likely to come back. Speaking of Italy, I had a present from there a few days ago. The Geographical Society at Rome has sent me the diploma of honorary membership. I have also at last received the long-expected diploma of Phil. Dr. *honoris causa*, from Königsberg. I have books, too, from various friends.

"Please make me some little piece of needlework which I could constantly have about me. I should like to have something, no matter what. If you take it in hand now, I may have the pleasure of it next Christmas. Also enclose in one of your letters a pressed fir or pine twig. I should be glad to recall the aroma of the pine woods.

"The wind is shaking the tent so that I can scarcely write. I wish you could see my present abode. A bed with mosquito netting, trunks and boxes, piles of books, instruments, strings of bird-skins hung up for drying, glasses

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containing prepared specimens in spirits, and plants ; in the midst of all a live monkey and my large dog. Under these circumstances it is not easy to find a place to write in, and when I do, I may safely bet that I shall not have a moment's peace.

"The cook comes to ask what he is to cook, another man wants medicine, a third paper or needles ; then comes a man who has somehow spoilt a rifle, or a sergeant wants to make a report, negro chiefs call to see me, etc. One must have a great deal of patience, and, thank God, I possess it.

"I was much surprised at not receiving, by the last mail, any news from you at Neisse or from Arthur. Be kind enough to write every month, as I asked you in my last letter from Mrogoro. I must now stop. The courier leaves to-night, so that the letters may catch the next French mail. It always takes from fifteen to twenty days from here to the coast.

"Give my love to Grete, and remember

"Your brother,

"EMIN."

We will now insert the reply to Emin's first report to the Imperial German Commissioner. But it must be borne in mind that this letter, directed to Mpwapwa, did not reach Emin until considerably later (the beginning of August, when Emin was at Tabora), long after he had left Mpwapwa, so that it was then beyond his power to comply with some of the directions given therein.

"ZANZIBAR, *June 12th*, 1890.

"I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that Major Wissmann left on the 26th of May, 1890, on three months' leave of absence. By order of His Majesty the Emperor I have been appointed as his substitute, and have taken over the commissarial functions since the 26th of May, 1890.

"In reply to the various reports of Your Excellency, dated the 15th of May, 26th of May, and 4th of June, I beg to inform Your Excellency that Sergeant de la Frémoire left Bagamoyo with fifty porters procured for Your Excellency by Sewa Hadjei, on the 18th of June. These fifty men will be at Your Excellency's disposal beyond Mpwapwa. In accord-

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ance with Your Excellency's recommendations, Freiherr von Bülow will for the present be left at his post as chief of Mpwapwa station. First-Lieutenant von Perbandt, who was to replace him, has been suddenly taken ill, and will presumably be incapacitated from duty for several weeks. As regards Hoffmann, I leave the decision in Your Excellency's hands. If you believe that he may be of service to you, he is at liberty to join the expedition, subject to an official inquiry to be instituted afterwards if thought fit.

"Mr. Stokes will start from Saadani at the end of this or the beginning of next month. He is taking with him another 100 porters for Your Excellency, who will also be at your disposal beyond Mpwapwa. I hope this will meet all your requirements. Acting in the interests of the Imperial Commissariat, I have also engaged Mr. Stokes, at a good salary; and besides Lieutenant Sigl and Sergeant Bauer, who are to accompany him, I shall send a small number of Soudanese with a good supply of Mauser and muzzle-loading rifles, as well as a 4-cm. gun.

"Mr. Stokes has orders to establish a station at Tabora if possible, and from there to enter into negotiations and make treaties with the various chiefs of Unyamwesi. He thinks that, when on the spot, he may succeed in engaging a body of about 100 reliable men, and these will then be armed with Mauser and muzzle-loading rifles. Effect would hereby be given to Your Excellency's proposal as to sending out 100 more men with the object of establishing a station at Tabora.

"No doubt Your Excellency will find Mr. Stokes' assistance at Tabora invaluable, both as regards the maintenance of communication with the coast, and influence over the entire territory of Unyamwesi. I presume I need not ask Your Excellency to act in every respect in thorough harmony with Mr. Stokes, and to keep him posted as to any operations Your Excellency may have in view.

"As to our prospects in the interior, more especially on the Victoria Nyanza, the situation has lately assumed a different complexion. At the present moment negotiations are pending in Berlin with a view to a delimitation of the mutual spheres of interest, and I am firmly convinced that, beyond

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any doubt, a definite arrangement will be arrived at sooner or later in Berlin.

"In view of this state of affairs, I request Your Excellency to refrain, as far as possible, from indulging any desires of expansion, and to confine yourself mainly to the establishment of stations and friendly relations.

"At the present moment it is impossible to foresee what course events will take as regards these intentions and plans, but at any rate Your Excellency will always bear in mind these various points, and I on my part will hasten to give Your Excellency immediate notice of any change of the situation.

"I am, etc.,

"SCHMIDT,

"Deputy Imperial Commissioner for East Africa."

Emin was compelled to make a longer stay at Mpwapwa than originally intended. Dr. Stuhlmann fell seriously ill, and Emin's anxiety respecting him manifests itself in the entries in his diary.

Emin thus found time to attend to some part of his voluminous correspondence. It was during these days that he wrote to the son and daughter of Mr. G. Schweitzer, as follows:—

"MPWAPWA, 5th June, 1890.

"MY DEAR GRETHE,—

"Many thanks for your kind letter and the handsome photo, which reached me a few days ago. Being on my way to the lakes and up to my eyes in work and worry about the expedition under my charge, I can scarcely find time now for more than an expression of my thanks, but will make up for the shortness of this note by writing again as soon as I reach the Victoria Nyanza, where I shall have to stay some time.

"I congratulate you most heartily on taking such high marks at school.

"Give my kind regards to mamma and papa, and forward the annexed lines to your brother Hans at Schnepfenthal, who has kindly written to me.

"Yours,

"EMIN PASHA."

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"MPWAPWA, 5th June, 1890.

"DEAR HANS,—

"Many thanks for your kind letter, the pretty violets, and your kind wishes for my journey into the interior. I should certainly have been glad, after fifteen years' stay in Central Africa, to take a short rest in the old home; but as the Fatherland required my services I am once more *en route*, and, as you will see from my address and by reference to a map, I am already a good way from the coast. God grant that I may return; if so, I shall come home and we shall chat about it. But you must study and learn something useful, so as to be a credit to your famous school and give joy to your father. It is only in after years that one comes to recognise and appreciate the full value of a sound education. Give my kind regards to your teachers and love them.

"Yours,

"DR. EMIN PASHA."

At length, on the 19th of June, Stuhlmann was better, and Emin could now think of resuming his journey. But before he started again, he had the pleasure of welcoming the German Emin Pasha Expedition.

Meets Dr. Peters

ON the 19th of June Dr. Peters and Lieutenant von Tiedemann arrived at the station.

The notes in Emin's diary concerning this period are very brief. There are very few remarks as to his meeting with Peters; indeed, this certainly memorable meeting with the second expedition sent out for his relief is only referred to very briefly in his next lengthy letter to his sister. We are therefore under the necessity of having recourse to the account given of this meeting by Dr. Peters, which, for the sake of completeness, we now subjoin.

In his work entitled *The German Emin Pasha Expedition* he writes as follows:—

"It was the 19th of June, 1890, that we suddenly met some

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soldiers in the uniform of the German colonial troops ; they saluted us. It seemed we must be quite close to the station. Then, another turn of the road, and we beheld the black, white and red flag floating over Mpwapwa.

"Our hearts beat faster at this sight, and in joyful excitement we pursued the path now winding round the north side of the station. Meanwhile we could not fail to be perceived, and in fact several men came out from the gateway. Soon one of them, riding on a donkey, galloped towards me, dismounted, raised his hat and welcomed me. It was Herr Janke. He was followed by two men on foot—Lieutenant von Bülow, the chief of the station, and Lieutenant Langheld. They said, 'Emin Pasha is here.' Then a man rather under medium height approached ; he was dressed in a plain blue uniform, and wore a helmet. A full black beard framed a face in which deep wrinkles spoke of intense mental labour. This was Emin Pasha.

"'May I introduce Dr. Peters to Your Excellency?' asked Herr von Bülow. 'I am very glad to see you,' said Emin Pasha, heartily seizing my hand. 'I really do not know how to thank you for all you have done for me.'

"I was so overcome by the meeting with my countrymen and by this, to me, certainly surprising meeting with Emin Pasha, that I was scarcely able to speak. I therefore contented myself with simply grasping his hand.

"'What an expedition you have behind you!' he continued. 'We all of us despaired of the possibility of your getting through, but now come with me to my tent.'

"I went to the tent hand in hand with Emin. He had pitched his tent on the north side of Mpwapwa under some gigantic trees. To my great surprise I saw pennants floating on the tent, bearing the same initials, P. E. P. E. (Peters' Emin Pasha Expedition), as our own. Emin Pasha explained with a smile: 'You see, we too carry the sign of your expedition.' He had taken over the tents left behind us in Zan-zibar.

"In front of Emin's tent waved a large black, white and red flag, and on either side of it was a mounted gun. His Sudanese soldiers were drawn up in line and saluted us,

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presenting arms. 'But now what kind of refreshments can I offer you? Will you take a glass of claret, port, beer, or—Dr. Stuhlmann,' he shouted to a gentleman who was approaching, and who looked rather ill, 'here is Dr. Peters!' I shook hands with Dr. Stuhlmann, whom I knew at Zanzibar, and who was just recovering from a severe attack of fever.

"'Now, Doctor,' said Emin, addressing Stuhlmann, 'you will have a bottle of champagne brought for us, will you not?'

"Emin Pasha had arranged his tent very nicely, his bed standing in the farthest part and a table and chairs occupying the foreground. The table was covered with writing materials, and books were lying close at hand. Carefully dressed bird-skins were suspended above the table. The tent almost looked like a German savant's room.

"'And now, Dr. Peters,' Emin continued, 'I may tell you that His Majesty the Emperor appears to take the liveliest interest in colonial matters. It is owing to this interest that he has charged me with the leadership of an expedition into the Lake territory to establish German influence there. I hope to have an exhaustive discussion with you as to the execution of this mission, as at this moment you are better acquainted with the conditions existing at the Lake than any of us. But of that we will speak to-morrow.'

"Altogether you will find the conditions in Europe as well as the feeling towards your expedition greatly changed. 'We are all working,' said Emin, with renewed vigour, 'confident in the future of our cause.' I then told Emin Pasha about the arrangements I had entered into with Uganda. He repeatedly interrupted me, interjecting with a friendly smile towards Stuhlmann, 'Charming, charming!'

"Meanwhile von Tiedemann joined us; he too was most heartily welcomed by Emin. Thus we sat in his tent for about three-quarters of an hour, in most animated conversation. . . .

"After dinner, Emin rose and addressed a few hearty words of welcome to us, alluding to the rumour that we had perished, and again remarking that he should never have thought it possible for us to reach his province from the east.

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"I thanked Emin Pasha, commending the good work done by him on the Upper Nile, and saying that we had gladly braved all hardships and dangers in the hope of being useful to our great African countryman. . . .

"Next morning I went to Emin Pasha's camp before 6 a.m. to arrange various matters with him. We took our breakfast out of doors with Lieutenant Langheld, and I then retired with Emin into his camp for further consultation. First I laid before him all my treaties from Uganda and the Victoria Lake, and of these he afterwards had copies taken. I pointed out to him that the English party in Uganda might possibly attempt to compel Mwanga with Jackson's aid to cancel these arrangements and make different ones in the British interest. In order to secure German interests in Uganda, pending a decision by His Majesty the German Emperor, Emin decided to at once send messengers to Uganda to inform the King that he, Emin, was making an expedition to the Victoria Lake by command of His Majesty the German Emperor, and admonish him not to enter into any new arrangements whatever which might in any way clash with the treaties made and submitted to him by me until the Emperor's decision came to hand. The messenger carrying this letter left for Bukumbi next day. This having been settled, we spoke of the state of affairs in the Equatorial Province. Emin Pasha pointed out that he was now in the service of the German Empire, but if subsequently, for any reason, he should return to his old province he would undertake in respect thereof the same obligations as Mwanga had undertaken with regard to Uganda, and would work in this sense on the Upper Nile. Before anything could be decided in this direction, he would of course have to ascertain the views of the Imperial Government, and he hoped, if possible, to see me again in Africa. In reference to this, we drew up a statement and signed it. The third point we discussed was the present purpose of Emin's expedition.

"He requested me to give him full information as to the countries in the west, and asked my advice as to what he should do next in order to accomplish the mission entrusted to him by His Majesty. To the best of my knowledge and

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judgment, I could only advise him to occupy Tabora or some suitable place in its neighbourhood.

“‘Then you share that view?’ Emin said. ‘That quite coincides with my own opinion and with what Père Schynze says.’

“I replied, ‘I am even in a position to say, on behalf of Monseigneur Hirth, that if you wish to occupy Tabora, the Catholic mission there would willingly place the station of Kipallapalla at your disposal. There is no need of long discussion as to the question of the expediency of first occupying Tabora. Tabora is the centre of the whole Arab influence in the Lake Regions. This is purely due to its central position. Whoever holds Tabora holds the key of the three lakes, so that Germany’s first move must be to occupy that place. If you decide to begin by establishing a station at one of the lakes, you would thus ensure simply a local effect but by occupying Tabora you react on all three lakes simultaneously.’

“‘I am very glad,’ replied Emin Pasha, ‘that we are so completely at one on this point, and I am now resolved to act on those lines. As it appears you have had a hard struggle in Ugogo, I shall request Von Bülow to join my expedition into the interior with a part of his troop. You would oblige me if you would now give me some particulars as to the state of affairs existing in Ugogo.’

“‘I shall venture,’ I answered, ‘to work out for you a complete summary of routes in which I shall deal more especially with the peculiar question of the water supply of this country.’

“‘And what places on the Victoria Lake,’ continued Emin, ‘would you propose for the establishment of a station?’

“‘I should advise Your Excellency to inspect Bukoba, south of the Kagera. The southern border of the lake is flat and unhealthy, but the west is fertile and, I believe, healthier, as it lies at a higher level. Bukoba appears to me to present all the requisites for a station.’

“Emin Pasha took a note of all these details, and it was after ten o’clock when we went up to the station, where we at once proceeded, with the assistance of the other gentlemen,

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to put in writing the important discussions held during the morning.

"After 4 p.m. I again called on Emin, who then gave me some particulars of his expedition and of Stanley's conduct on the Upper Nile. To my great astonishment, he now fully confirmed what I had heard rumoured occasionally on the Victoria Lake; namely, that Stanley had actually taken Emin Pasha away from the Equatorial Province by force. Emin Pasha said: 'When Stanley first came to the Albert Lake, he would have been lost if Casati and I had not gone to him. Stanley did not come to us, but we went to him. He never reached the Equatorial Province any more than you have done. When he first arrived in Kivalli, and found no news from us, instead of pushing ahead along the Albert Lake to Wadelai, he went back a four months' journey to fetch a boat. Then the expedition returned and we went in search of them, took them provisions and clothing, and thus saved them from perishing. Then Stanley commenced to urge me to abandon my post. He told me the Khedive had expressly sent him for the purpose of conveying to me the order to evacuate the Equatorial Province. Stanley intimated to me that he was authorised, in case of need, to remove me by force from the province. But at that time my position at the Upper Nile was still such as to enable me, had I but been possessed of ammunition and cloth, to hold out permanently there. It was not until later, if not directly due to intrigues, at any rate in consequence of the demeanour assumed by the English, that my men became insubordinate, their sole reason being that they did not want to leave their province. I am convinced that, if I were now to return there with a proper equipment, they would all receive me joyfully and with open arms. But even if Stanley had instructions from the Khedive to conduct me away from there, he certainly did not act loyally to the Khedive, for a few days later he suddenly put forward an offer from the King of the Belgians inviting me to hoist the flag of the Congo State in the Equatorial Province, stating that King Leopold offered me a subsidy of £1,000 a month towards the expenses of administration. As regards my own salary, I was to name its amount to Stanley; it would at

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once be granted. Nor did Stanley submit this second proposal (absolutely clashing with the first) in good faith. After some time, he advised me not to entertain it, adding that the Congo State, from which he had just come, was in a state of great confusion and disruption.' He also added that Emin was doubtless aware how King Leopold had treated him (Stanley) some time back. He (Stanley) could not therefore advise him to accept the offer, but he would now make him a third proposal. A British East Africa Company intended to work from Mombasa towards the Upper Nile. He suggested that Emin should enter the service of that Company; Emin was to march with his troops under his (Stanley's) guidance round Lake Victoria towards Kavirondo. They would there seek a suitable island on Lake Victoria where Emin could entrench himself. Stanley would then hasten back to Mombasa for reinforcements. All Emin's officers and men were to enter the service of the British East Africa Company with the same pay as they received under the Egyptian Government; as regards his own salary, Emin was to negotiate direct with the Company in London.

"On my return to Europe, I, of course, read with great interest Stanley's account of these proposals, in his book *In Darkest Africa*, but they are there given in quite a different connection, and other motives are suggested; for instance, Stanley says that he did not make this latter proposal to Emin on behalf of the British East Africa Company, but that it was simply a suggestion on his own part. [It is very clear, from the documents already communicated, and above all from de Winton's letter, that Stanley spoke in the name of the British East Africa Company.—*German Editor's note.*]

"In contradiction thereto, Emin repeatedly and positively asserted at Mpwapwa, that Stanley brought with him from London an agreement signed by the promoters of the British East Africa Company, notarially executed and sealed in due form, simply requiring Emin's signature to complete, in the event of the latter accepting this proposal. Emin's statement in this respect deserves unqualified credit, as he had no motive whatever for giving an incorrect version; while, on the other hand, it will be readily understood that subsequently,

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when Emin had entered the German service, the British East Africa Company saw good cause to repudiate the fact of ever having made a proposal to Emin. [*See Introduction.*]

"‘However,’ continued Emin, ‘this last proposal, which Stanley constrained me, partly by threats, to accept, was not carried out by him. When we arrived south of the Victoria Lake, he suddenly seemed disinclined to conduct me round the Lake and on to Kavirondo, from which place, as had been expressly stipulated, I was to reconquer my territory (and also annex) Unyoro and Uganda, with the reinforcements to be brought up by Stanley; but he now suddenly declared that I should have to go with him to the coast in order to perfect the matter; in fact, that he could not mix himself up with the Uganda troubles without the express consent of the Queen of England. In this way I was compelled to accompany him to the coast, whereas all that was originally intended was a removal of my headquarters from the Albert Lake to the Victoria Lake.’

"Emin’s repeatedly expressed opinion was that Stanley would not venture to interfere in Uganda, for as a matter of fact, in his conduct of the expedition (the details of which I very much admire), he (Stanley) habitually made lengthy détours to avoid those tribes which he considered warlike. Hence the peculiar deviations and sharp bends of the route taken by his expedition.

"It was not until I reached Mpwapwa, that I learned it was Stanley’s enterprise which also foiled our own plans with regard to the Equatorial Province. Emin told me that, even with the small force at our command, we might have rendered him material assistance, inasmuch as we could have established communication for him with Uganda, and thence with the German East African colony. If Stanley had stuck fast in the swamps on the Aruwimi, Emin Pasha would still, in all human probability, have remained in Wadelai in complete security. The whole territory north of the Victoria Lake would have been to the Mahdists a closed bulwark, under Christian influence, with a possibility of being gradually extended step by step down the Nile; whereas the Arab dominion now extends to the northern boundary of Uganda,

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and Uganda itself is torn by the turmoils of party conflicts, and its development hampered to an incalculable extent. Hence it must be asserted that, in its results, Stanley's enterprise has proved absolutely injurious to the interests of humanity in general, as well as to English interests in particular."

On the 20th of June—the date on which, according to Dr. Peters' account, the discussions just described took place—Emin made the following entry in his diary :—

"Copies of treaties with Uganda ; protest on behalf of my province, etc."

On that day, Emin handed a document to Dr. Peters, in which he considers himself the rightful master of the Equatorial Province, and requests the German Government to propose to the signatories of the Congo Act, that "his territories" also should be neutralised as a protection against any desires of annexation that might be entertained. It is probably to this that the further passages in Dr. Peters' book refer ; for instance :—

"It will be readily understood that the thoughts that naturally occupied us during our meeting at Mpwapwa could only entail painful reflections both to Emin Pasha and myself ; nevertheless, we both determined that though much was lost there, we would still hold fast to the idea of regaining it. We cherished the hope that in this resolve we might rely on the sympathies, not only of the Continental powers, but also eventually on those of the British Government. At that time, being at Mpwapwa, we did not know the tenor of the new convention made between Germany and England, which convention has essentially changed the aspect of affairs north of the Victoria Lake."

Emin further says in his diary :—

"*21st of June, Saturday.*—At last we are going to leave to-morrow. To-day, mails, letters, etc. Sergeant Krause returns to the coast.

"*22nd of June, Sunday.*—At 7 a.m. Peters and Tiedemann left us ; God-speed to them ; both promised to return. We started at 8.8 a.m. Thank God, we are at last getting away from this place, where drink is dispensed rather too liberally. Von Bülow is accompanying us with twenty-five men."

Chapter XXIX

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EMIN'S next letter is written very hurriedly, *en route*. It is addressed to his sister at Neisse :—

“MASANGA, UGOGO, 27th June, 1890.

“I have just received your kind letter of the 1st of May. I am unable to reply to you fully, because the messenger is going back at once ; being anxious to get during the night through a dangerous part of the road, where I once had a fairly hot engagement with the Masai, and brought away several hundred head of cattle as a souvenir.

“Many thanks for all the news from you and Grethe, which I have read with great interest. Postpone coming until I return ; at present you would find it very lonely.

“I have no end of work, and for the last two nights could not sleep a wink on account of the attacks. Now all is quiet, the natives having found out that the Bwana Pasha is not to be trifled with. I shall write more fully from Nyangwe, which I hope to reach in six or eight days. Give my love to Grethe and Arthur. If you have a ‘Trewendt’ almanack to spare, please send it by book-post.

“Your brother,

“EMIN.”

While on the march to Tabora, Emin also sent two reports to the Imperial Commissioner. The first runs as follows :—

“RIRINDI, UGOGO, 5th July, 1890.

“I beg to report that our stay at Mpwapwa has been prolonged, in consequence of the serious illness of Lieutenant Suhlmann ; also that just as we were ready to start, Dr. Peters arrived, bringing information on various points. On

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the 22nd of June we started, and only four days later, while camping on the Niangalu, some of our men, who had gone down to the water, were attacked by the Wahuma-Masai. These were at once repelled, and a number of cattle were taken from them. However, in order to ensure the safety of the expedition during the next stage of our journey, I considered it necessary to drive off the Masai; I therefore advanced against them with Lieutenant Langheld. The Masai were dispersed; their cattle were taken, and most of them distributed among the natives, whereupon we proceeded.

"On the 2nd of July we camped at Nsasa; at the roll-call at night, two Zulus from Mpwapwa were missing, and, during the night, we received news to the effect that these two men, named Leis and Rupie, who had gone off without leave, had been killed by Muniamama, the Wagogo chief at Kogollo. [The reader should bear in mind the encounter Dr. Peters had had there shortly before, in consequence of his refusal to pay hongo.—*German Editor's note.*] Early in the morning, accompanied by Lieutenant Langheld, I marched against the Wagogos, burned eleven tembes, killed the chief and some of his people, and recovered one Mauser gun, but the second could not be traced. The body of one of the Zulus was found and buried. The cattle taken was distributed among well-disposed local chiefs. Now quiet reigns everywhere, and the Wagogo are coming in from all quarters, asking for 'letters of protection' and flags. Bishop Livinghac, whom I met here yesterday, tells me that the whole of Ugogo has been frightened by Dr. Peters. I myself have paid hongo nowhere, nor shall I do so; I have also impressed upon the natives that caravans travelling under the German flag do not pay any hongo, but must be supplied with provisions. I shall continue my march to-morrow morning.

"The commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the expedition have conducted themselves very well. The state of health is satisfactory with the exception of Von Bülow, who is laid up with typhoid fever. I must urgently press you to send on a further supply of ammunition for Mauser and other rifles, and commend the annexed list of requisites to the kind perusal and attention of the Imperial Commis-

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sioner, particularly as the lists previously sent have been quite disregarded and unanswered. So far, I have had no replies to my previous reports and requisitions. At the same time, I venture to ask for a regular transmission of our mails and books, as the last delivery entrusted to the French mailman consisted of only a few letters, the rest being left behind at the coast ; in the same way the lamps sent us from Bombay, shot, and other private requirements, were left at Zanzibar or Bagamoyo, and will probably reach us when the expedition is over. I therefore venture to urge most earnestly that these matters may be arranged more satisfactorily. We handed to Herr Janke, at Mpwapwa, the collection intended for the Berlin Museums. Bishop Livinghac is taking with him a parcel of plants, etc., and a case of bird-skins for Berlin. I shall be glad if you will see whether they are properly packed and dispatch them as soon as possible to Berlin. [This, however, was not done until after great delay. —*German Editor's note.*]

“DR. EMIN PASHA,
“*Chief of the Expedition.*”

In the second report, which was written on the way, Emin most pressingly reiterated his former requests.

“MUHALALA, 10th July, 1890.

(Received the 30th of August, 1890.)

“As about 200 porters have gone empty-handed to the coast with Monsigneur Livinghac, it might be desirable, provided that they are not required by the missionaries, to send by them all the loads intended for us, whether private or otherwise, for direct conveyance to Ukumbi, and at the same time send on all mails, books, etc.

“I previously asked that Dr. Stuhlmann's jars and alcohol (for zoological preparation), which are at Messrs. Hansing's, should be sent to us. I beg to renew this request ; please see that the things are well packed.

“All cases sent to us should be tight and substantial, as those we brought with us are getting useless. Please ask Dr. Becker to send us medicines.

“I also beg the Imperial Commissioner to see that all

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literature and maps available, relating to the territories we have to traverse and explore, are forwarded to us.

"We shall enter Unyamwesi to-morrow. The expedition is in good order; the state of health, with the exception of Von Bülow, who is laid up with intermittent fever, is satisfactory.

"DR. EMIN PASHA."

Emin did not, however, find time to write from Nyangwe the letter he promised to his sister. So that more than a month elapsed before any fresh news from his pen reached Germany. He then sent the following letter:—

"TABORA, *2nd August*, 1890.

"I trust you received my last letter from Mpwapwa, and are therefore informed as to events up to that date, though there was little to say. My stay was unfortunately delayed by Dr. Stuhlmann's serious illness, but on the other hand I was compensated by seeing Dr. Peters and Von Tiedemann, who were just returning from Uganda, where they had been to search for me.

"We got away at last on the 22nd of June and had two engagements on the road, during which I captured a great many head of cattle, and on the 5th of July we arrived at Irindi at the same time as Monsignor Livinghac and Père Hautesveres; they were coming from the Victoria Lake, making for the coast; they supplied me with some very interesting items of information from the north. You must remember that those are the countries where I am quite at home and well known. I entrusted these gentlemen with a few lines for you. It only remains for me now to report what I have been doing since and to reply to your last letter, which duly reached me *via* Marseilles. Although I left Bagamoyo with the fixed intention of reaching the Victoria Nyanza by the most direct route, and if possible of visiting Uganda and possibly my own territory as well, I was compelled to alter my course as soon as I reached Mpwapwa, because when there I could only procure porters to go as far as Tabora, but none to go to Usukuma. But this circum-

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stance gave rise to an expedition which, though somewhat daring, possessed a particular fascination for me.

"You are probably aware that Tabora, the principal seat of the Arabs in East Africa, is their great *place d'armes* for the interior, and that Sike, then Sultan of Unyanyembe, can put about 1,000 rifles into the field, in addition to about 800 armed men, servants and slaves. But this enables him to perpetrate the grossest oppression and violence. The murder of Giesecke, and the robbing and expulsion of the French missionaries from Kipallapalla, are examples of this.

"I now conceived the idea of marching with my men to Tabora, gaining over the Arabs, hoisting the German flag, and securing the country of Unyanyembe for Germany. For this purpose I had at my disposal two officers with fifty-three soldiers and non-commissioned officers, besides fifty so-called soldiers from Zanzibar, two German sergeants, and a small gun. Von Bülow, of Mpwapwa, had also joined us with twenty-three soldiers, but he fell ill and had to be carried all the way in a hammock, and Lieutenant Langheld also had to be carried for a long distance. Therefore I had a force of about 120 or 130 men, out of whom I could only depend on about 75 (Soudanese and Zulus). With these I advanced, trusting to my good fortune.

"On the 29th of July I entered Tabora to the waving of flags, and was welcomed by all the Arabs of the country. I have since concluded an alliance with them on behalf of the German Empire, and appointed a Governor, and I hope that to-morrow I shall be able to hoist the German flag. Meanwhile, I have sent an ultimatum to Sultan Sike, calling upon him to give up the ivory belonging to Messrs. Meyer of Hamburg, on which he laid hands, as well as his two guns, a machine gun and a smooth-bore gun, and to surrender his country to Germany. I await his reply to-morrow morning, and if it does not meet my views I shall attack him to-morrow night. But I am fully convinced that there will be no need of this, and that the guns and some of the ivory will be in front of my tent to-morrow morning. It is really a piece of impertinence on my part to dash, so to speak, into people's houses and without further ado to annex country and people ;

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but it cannot be helped, and we cannot deal so gently here as is the custom in Europe. To-morrow morning I will write further and will forward my letter by the express messenger, who is to announce the completion of the annexation to the authorities in Zanzibar. I hope that this will be approved of in Germany.

"*4th of August.*—This morning I hoisted the German flag, amidst the roar of three salvoes of artillery. The annexation of Unyanyembe has been solemnly announced to the two French missionaries, as well as to the Rev. Mr. Shaw and his wife (English), and thus my wish is at last realised. The two guns arrived last night, together with some ivory ; more is to follow.

"During these days I have scarcely found time for meals, and am so tired out that I can hardly write. I therefore send you only a few lines, and a promise to write again more fully before my departure for the far interior. I shall probably leave here in ten days' time, but before doing so shall have to organise the administration here. What is most gratifying to me is that the Arabs everywhere receive me with open arms ; if I wished, I could have the whole country for myself.

"Give my kind regards to Grethe and her daughter, as well as to Arthur and his family.

"Your brother,

"EMIN.

"In two hours the courier will leave with the telegraphic message announcing the annexation."

A few days later Emin reported to Zanzibar:—

"TABORA, *6th August*, 1890.

"I have the honour to report that circumstances, which I will report more fully later on, have compelled me to deviate from my original route. I therefore marched to this place, made a treaty with the Arabs (of which I enclose a copy), hoisted the German flag at Tabora on the 4th inst. with the usual formalities, and publicly announced the incorporation of the country of Unyanyembe with the German colonial possessions.

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"The English missionary, the Rev. Mr. Shaw, of Urambo, was present at all these proceedings. Although Sultan Sike has hitherto shown himself distrustful, I succeeded in obtaining from him a smooth-bore bronze gun with ammunition, and a machine gun, as well as some ivory belonging to Mr. Meyer, of Hamburg. The negotiations as to further compensation are still pending. *In a few days I shall report more fully.*

"From the annexed letters you will see that the chief of Urambo has been killed, and that an application has been received for the establishment of a German station at Urambo. I shall therefore march first against the Wangoni, and will report from Urambo as to my further movements. At any rate, you may be assured that I shall bear in mind the directions and intimations contained in your last confidential letter. I have written to Mr. Stokes, and asked him to send our expenses.

"In conclusion, I venture to submit two urgent requests. In the first place, it would be desirable that you should send back by the messenger carrying these letters a letter of recognition to the Vali here, to be communicated by him to the Arabs; also that you should grant him a fair salary, and recognise him officially as Vali. Then send an expedition here as speedily as possible, even if it only consisted of fifty or sixty regulars and a few irregular soldiers, under the leadership of an officer skilled in dealing with Arabs (I should recommend Mr. Ramsay), with two able German sergeants, and with instructions to occupy the house offered by Bishop Livinghac, which is in good condition, at a distance of two hours' journey from here. This expedition should be supplied with sufficient ammunition, a gun, and provisions for the journey. Articles of barter, cloth and the like, may be had here. The expedition should bring very handsome presents for the Vali and three other Arabs, viz., Zaid ben Juma, Ali ben Sultan, and Salem ben Said; as regards the nature of these presents, you should consult Sheikh Amer. I also request you to inform me on this matter and to forward the packet of letters for me, addressed in Arabic to the care of the Vali Seif ben Saad.

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"I venture to ask you to send telegraphic advice of the annexation to the Imperial Commissioner, and to transmit my congratulations to His Majesty and to the former ; I also request you to let me know by return all arrangements made with England, and to send a good map of the respective spheres of interest, by the bearer of this letter.

"The bearer is to be paid at your end, and has received an order to that effect.

"The commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the expedition are in good health and have rendered very good service. The men, as well as the materials, are in good condition.

"DR. EMIN,

"Chief of the Expedition.

"Stuhlmann sends kind regards ; also Langheld, who is courageous, but in poor health, and scarcely fit for the interior."

Two weeks afterwards, in a letter to his sister Melanie, he writes :—

"TABORA, 16th of August, 1890.

"I have just received your kind letter of the 2nd of June ; many thanks for it. . . . A few days ago I sent you a few very hurriedly written lines. To-day I have only half an hour at my disposal, but I will make the most of it. We have now been at Tabora some time, and I am on such good terms with the people as to have been repeatedly asked to remain here as Governor. However much such a position might be in accordance with my wishes, it is not to be thought of at present. I had decided to march from here direct to Ujiji, on the Tanganyika Lake, which place I should have easily reached in about a month. When there I proposed to make a treaty with the Arabs, gain over Tippu Tib, and then establish a station at the northern point of the lake, where I should have left an officer, while I marched right through Ruanda to the Albert Edward Nyanza and thence turned northwards.

"But all this has now been upset. Communications received from Berlin, and the newspapers and letters received

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yesterday, make it appear desirable that I should first push on to the north, so as to bring the diplomatists face to face with a *fait accompli*.

"I shall consequently march from here in a few days to Urambo, where I propose to assist the new king, who is willing to attach himself to us, against his enemies the Wangoni (Zulus). Von Bülow will then take charge of the station there, and I shall march through Uyui and Usinga, towards the Victoria Lake. There a larger station is to be erected, of which Lieutenant Langheld will probably take charge. If Mwanga assists me with men in Uganda, I shall go from there either to my own province, or right across the territories on the Usangoro Lake, where no European has ever yet set foot, to the Tanganyika Lake. This is, in brief outline, my present political programme.

"After making treaties with the native chiefs, I will endeavour to get together a considerable quantity of ivory, so that we may to some extent recoup the cost of this expedition. This should not be particularly difficult, as I know where and how to look for ivory. I have been endeavouring to establish a little law and order here (in Tabora), and to render the drunken Sultan of the country innocuous by taking away his arms. This I have succeeded in. Then there was work for the smith: he had to put the machine gun which we had taken into serviceable condition, and to my delight he succeeded in doing so. I am now in possession of the two good guns, to take with us on our march (I do not reckon the third, as it is too heavy for transport). My Soudanese soldiers are faithfully devoted to me, and therefore I am confident of success. Probably we shall have to fight in Urambo, as the Wangoni are rendering the country unsafe, but I hope that will soon be settled.

"I have managed to make friends with all the people here at Tabora. Both Arabs and negroes willingly obey my orders. I now hope that the authorities at the coast will succeed in finding for this station an intelligent officer who is familiar with the language and customs, and who will not offend the people. It is only in this way that we shall be able to commence to turn the country to advantage. When

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higher up on the banks of the lakes, I shall endeavour to arrange matters from the outset on a different footing. Being on friendly terms with Mwanga of Uganda, and known throughout the whole territory of the Upper Nile, and familiar with the language of the country, I can freely act there. I am really glad to have a prospect of once more getting there. I shall write to you again from the Victoria Lake.

"I am pleased to hear that Gravenreuth has written to you. He is one of the noblest and most generous characters with whom I have met here. I have remained without any news from Bagamoyo for over two months. I neither know how Ferida is getting on, nor whether any one is befriending her. According to private news from Berlin, a Governor-General is to be appointed for the whole coast. It would be nice if Arthur would take a share in the work of re-organisation, and if we could all meet here. I should be most happy to entrust my Ferida to your special care. The poor child has no one but me. I have taken a house at Bagamoyo for my people. My servants live there—a few old men and women who came with me from the Equatorial Province. Mrs. Schöler, at Bagamoyo, promised me she would teach Ferida German, for at present she only speaks Arabic and Suaheli.

"I hope she will learn at least as many languages as I know. I am very busy with purchases—cloth, stores of all kinds, beads, articles of barter, and cotton. The prices in some cases are exorbitant. A caddy of tea, containing about two pounds, costs 63 marks in German money. All is converted into its equivalent of 'Djera'—that is to say, into whole pieces of very common cotton material of forty yards a piece. The cheapest article, after all, is little slaves from Manyuema. Yesterday I had quite a novel experience. I rode to an Arab to buy materials, and, as customary, they offered me sherbet—that is to say, perfumed sugar and water—and I was struck with its pleasant odour. On inquiry, I found that it was prepared with Eau-de-Cologne! This was a novel experience even to me. I have not before learned to drink Eau-de-Cologne. At first, I believe, you

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will find it rather strange to be among the people here, but in course of time you will get accustomed to it.

"I am writing to Berlin by this mail, and shall propose to the Government that they should entrust me with the administration of the interior, independently of the coast territory. Should this be granted, I shall have to reside in the interior, I suppose; but it would still be best for all of us to meet at the coast.

"If I only knew whether Parliament has granted the salary proposed for me!

"As you will see, even here we depend on those gentlemen, and newspaper-reading may be useful to us. I was pleased to see by the *Post* and *Reichsbote* that Herr von Marschall has at least given me credit for having refused more favourable terms for love of Germany. At the last moment I had three thousand pounds sterling offered me if I agreed to turn to another quarter.

"I willingly forgive the *Silesian Gazette* for its rudeness to me. Every one must do what he can. Who is now chief editor? Although Caprivi is no enthusiast for colonies, he is nevertheless very capable. I particularly regret Bismarck's retirement. It was always my desire to be introduced to him. But these gentlemen in Berlin are too far away and too highly placed for poor mortals like me.

"The Elsons are in Zanzibar; he sent me newspapers by this mail. Westermann, of Brunswick, is very kindly sending me his monthly magazine gratis. Paetal, of Berlin—or rather, Dr. Julius Rodenberg—has also sent me several numbers of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, to which paper I propose to contribute. I am rather tired of reading papers, as they are constantly reverting to the wretched differences between Stanley and myself, and will not let me have a moment's rest.

"However, I have quite enough to do—breakfast at 6 a.m.; from 6.30 to 7, roll call; then thirty or forty cases of sickness to see to; then packing loads, attending to inquiries, engaging porters, and writing reports, until noon; from 12 till 2, rest and lunch; then again work, and visits from the Arabs, who submit legal disputes to me for decision.

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Thus the evening comes round, and one's head aches with the Babel of languages : German, Arabic, Kisuaheli, and the rest. This is a day's routine in camp ; when on the march, there is more to do. You will understand that every spare moment is utilised for collecting. I am sending from here my geographical, astronomical, and political reports, which will probably be published in Germany. This is my third consignment of collections.

"I am pleased to hear that the Catholic party is favourably disposed to me. I am generally looked upon as their protector here, and I hope I am so in fact.

"At Urambo we shall again enjoy ladies' society. The wife of the English missionary there—the Rev. Mr. Shaw—is a very amiable lady. She is the daughter of an English clergyman.

"Now accept my best thanks, and write again soon.

"Your brother,
"EMIN."

The next official report again complains of the inadequate resources of the expedition, which does not appear to be properly equipped for the work set before it, so that difficulties are continually being met with.

This report runs as follows :—

"TABORA, 19th of August, 1890.

"With reference to my former reports from Mpwapwa and Irindi, I have the honour to inform you that lack of porters has compelled me to march, contrary to my original intentions, direct to Tabora. As I found the feeling there rather favourable to us, I concluded a treaty with the Arabs (of which I have already sent a copy), hoisted the German flag, and obtained possession of the two guns, as I reported. I have the honour to submit herewith the original treaty. As the strength of the expedition is not sufficient to garrison Tabora at once, I preferred to induce the Arabs to elect a Vali, and I enclose the official document of the election herewith. Seif ben Saad, the new Vali, is very efficient, and it will be desirable that he should be supported

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as much as possible. To this end, I propose that, besides allowing him a fair salary, he should be permitted to appoint a clerk, and engage twelve soldiers for conveying mails and acting as market police.

"Probably a small market toll would cover the expenses.

"I have felt it necessary to make considerable purchases here, so as to have the expedition prepared for all emergencies. I shall be glad if you will settle the accounts as they come to hand, and you may rely on it that I shall be able to cover all these expenses by means of ivory. I am now sending on Mr. Meyer's ivory.

"Annexed you will find lists of requisites, which I most urgently pray you to attend to. It is true that I have some ammunition for the machine gun, but I am just now about to enter regions which will involve fighting. I must particularly ask for Mauser cartridges, and, if possible, for a few boxes of Remingtons—these to be sent as soon as possible; likewise some shells (3.7 cm. bore), and a number of good rockets, light balls and dynamite cartridges. I also request Dr. Becker to at once send on a good assortment of medicines, as well as the most necessary instruments. I have repeatedly asked for some, as when I started I scarcely received the most indispensable requisites. I do not even possess a stethoscope!

"For the expedition I require a large number of label-seals, an Imperial Commissariat stamp for treaties, and stamped letter-paper and envelopes, as well as a few stamps for letters.

"I have the honour to forward, in a separate package, the scientific works and reports of the expedition up to date, begging you will transmit them at once to the Foreign Office, with the request that they shall be handed over to Freiherr von Danckelmann. At the same time I beg to forward the collections made and the made-up parcels, trusting you will forward them at once to the Museum authorities in Berlin. Should it appear desirable to the Imperial Commissariat that our collections should be continued, I most urgently ask that I may be assisted by the speedy despatch of a large supply of alcohol of the best possible quality, naphthaline,

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gypsum, herbary paper, shot No. 12, and cartridges bores 12, 16, 20, 500, and 577. The expedition is just now on the point of entering unexplored countries, and we should be sorry to lose this opportunity.

"I am sorry to have to report that Von Bülow, whom I took with me for several days' marches as an escort, fell ill after a few marches, and his condition precludes all possibility of sending him back alone. I was therefore compelled to have him carried as far as Tabora, and I am now awaiting an opportunity, as soon as he improves, of sending him to Mr. Stokes. I do not believe he is capable of resisting the climatic influences of the interior for any length of time. I also think it would be desirable, at no very remote date, to relieve Lieutenant Langheld, who every now and then suffers from fever. The Imperial Commissioner promised me that Herr Janke, as well as the officers, should be attached to the expedition. I now venture to ask for the fulfilment of this promise. I also ask most urgently that a non-commissioned officer may be sent on without delay, for clerical work, as Dr. Stuhlmann is far too busy to act as my clerk.

"The expedition will march in a few days from here to Urambo, to assist Pandasharo's successor against the Wagonis and restore peace in the country. From Urambo we shall proceed due north towards the Nyanza. It was my intention to march from here to Ujiji, and come to terms with the Arabs there, and I have already entered into negotiations by letter to this end. But the news received by the last mail, which, by the bye, did not contain any letters either from the Imperial Commissariat or from Bagamoyo station, induced me to proceed by forced marches to Karagwe and elsewhere. I shall have the honour to report further from Urambo.

"Henceforth mails and consignments for the expedition should be directed either to Mr. Stokes at Usongo, or to the Vali of Unyanyembe, and I also ask that I may be informed as soon as possible as to the arrangements made between Mr. Stokes and the Imperial Commissariat, and the conventions between England and Germany, and supplied with the requisite maps. In conclusion, I beg to renew my urgent request

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that Tabora may be occupied with all speed, that is to say that a German station may be established at Kipallapalla.

“DR. EMIN,
“*Chief of the Expedition.*”

On the same day Emin wrote again to Zanzibar as follows :—

“TABORA, 19th August, 1890.

“I have the honour to inform you that on our arrival here Ramasan Nubi, a Soudanese, formerly belonging to Ziber Pasha, and now free, has presented himself to me, applying to be received into the German colonial force. I have complied with this request, and instructed Lieutenant Langheld to enlist Ramasan, with a monthly allowance (for the time being) of fifteen rupees, and to see to his drill.

“All the soldiers here have received a small advance, the non-commissioned officers twice as much as the privates. I have to ask the Commander to refer the annexed receipt to the Pay Department, and see that the respective amounts are deducted out of the men's pay. The materials themselves are to be credited to the expedition at \$214.

“DR. EMIN,
“*Chief of the Expedition.*”

Again he wrote :—

“TABORA, 23rd of August, 1890.

“To-day I handed to Seif ben Saad, Vali of Unyanyembe, ten pieces of ivory marked R.K.I./X. belonging to Mr. H. A. Meyer of Hamburg, for speedy conveyance to the coast, the cost of transport from here to the coast to be debited to the firm named. The said Vali has moreover received the cases and packages enumerated in the annexed list, for transmission to the Imperial Commissariat, and the amounts named for their transmission in the document herewith are to be paid there. I request that the packages in question may be forwarded to the Royal Museums at Berlin as soon as possible, lest the contents should suffer by delay.

“By first opportunity please forward fifty German flags, thirty medium-sized ones and twenty large ones ; two large

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station flags and some ropes for same should also be sent direct to the Vali of Unyanyembe.

"All ivory henceforth sent by this expedition is intended for covering its expenses ; but as the cost of transport to the coast would in any case have to be deducted from the amount realised, I beg you will inform me whether I am to send the ivory to the coast or sell it to the Arabs here. Of course the prices here fluctuate. For the present, please settle the accounts for goods purchased here, and I shall no doubt cover them by ivory.

" DR. EMIN,
" *Chief of the Expedition.*"

The last letter from the new German station runs as follows :—

" TABORA, 24th August, 1890.

"I consider it my imperative duty to march at once to Usongo in order to make the necessary arrangements there with Mr. Stokes. From Usongo I shall proceed direct towards the lake. I sent Herr von Bülow to Urambo with the twenty-three soldiers from Mpwapwa, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Shaw, as his health is by no means satisfactory, and Urambo is a healthier place than Tabora. At the same time, the presence of the soldiers was intended to afford the new King of Urambo protection against the Wangoni, who were threatening him. I myself intended to follow there with the expedition, hoist the German flag, defeat the Wangoni, and then proceed towards the lake.

"But events did not permit this. I therefore sent Lieutenant Langheld there with a sufficient force and ammunition, as well as two guns, with instructions to put matters right, and then to meet me at Usongo or on the lake. Herr von Bülow is to remain for the present at Urambo to maintain German prestige. I have provided him with three months' rations for the soldiers, and trust you will support him by sending on men and stores. Urambo is very important as a station, because it commands the caravan route to and from Ujiji, and the population is dependable. As soon as Tabora is garrisoned, a sergeant with twenty-five men will be quite

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sufficient for Urambo. I shall be glad if you will appoint a European who knows Arabic, to assist the chief of the new Tabora station ; I would suggest Herr Bohndorff. Should Stokes be still at the coast, I urgently beg you will instruct him to start.

“DR. EMIN,
“ *Chief of the Expedition.*”

I am unable now to ascertain why Emin hoisted the German flag at Tabora contrary to the express desire of the Imperial Commissioner. Major von Wissmann himself declared later on that weighty reasons induced him to desire this, but it has not transpired of what nature these reasons were.

Apart from the letter of the Commissioner, dated the 12th of June, and forwarded to Mpwapwa (which merely states that Stokes is to establish a station at Tabora, whereby Emin's proposal would be disposed of), no injunction prohibiting Emin from going to Tabora has been found among Emin's papers, and the letter of the 12th of June did not reach Emin until long after he had been to Tabora for the purpose of supplementing his porters, as, notwithstanding repeated requests, the men he had requisitioned did not arrive from the coast. Therefore we are unable to determine how far Major von Wissmann was justified in writing on the 6th of December, hinting at verbal instructions given : “ I regret to observe that you are not interpreting the object of the expedition nor my verbal instructions, in the manner desired by the Imperial Commissariat, and have repeatedly disregarded these instructions, which, as you are aware, were based on a fairly accurate knowledge of the conditions existing there.” According to Emin's notes, his task was as follows :—

“ Taking possession of the Hinterland to the widest possible extent, securing the caravan routes, also establishing stations and subduing the people he came into contact with as far as it was possible to do by peaceful means.”

On considering the subsequent utterances of Major von Wissmann, one may guess to a certain extent what the more special instructions consisted in, but of course they afford no

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historical certainty. They suggest that Emin was to avoid Tabora, proceeding direct to the southern shore of the Victoria Lake, and to establish a station there, where the vessels intended for the lake could be fitted up. But we must not overlook the fact that Emin was unable to find any porters at Mpwapwa for the lake, but only such as would go as far as Tabora, which circumstance would compel him, in spite of his own will, and the orders of the Imperial Commissioner, to proceed first to Tabora. We may assume that the idea of steamers for the Victoria Lake had already assumed definite shape in April, 1890, because Major-General (then Major) Liebert, who returned from East Africa in the early part of May, was the first to suggest this idea, at Cologne, on the 1st of July of the same year.

It is true that under these circumstances the establishment of a new station, which, as a matter of fact, was of greater value as regards the Tanganyika Lake than the Victoria Nyanza, may have appeared inopportune to the Imperial Commissioner, who himself was short of resources. Again and again it was impossible to comply with Emin's wishes as regards his "lists of requisites." "Strict economy, which is absolutely indispensable," writes Dr. Schmidt, the Deputy-Governor, "is the cause of my inability to comply with Your Excellency's desires and supplementary orders as willingly as I should like."

This was the reason why the authorities at Zanzibar considered the hoisting of the German flag at Tabora a kind of "present of the Danai."

Dr. Schmidt wrote to Emin in reply to his report: "As regards the occupation of Tabora or Kipallapalla, I much regret not being at this moment in a position to carry it out, although I myself consider Kipallapalla most suitable. Want of officers and men, and the strict economy enjoined upon me, render it quite impossible for me to think of garrisoning Tabora from here."

About this time Emin received, through the German Consul-General at Zanzibar, an intimation to the effect that his claims against the Egyptian Government had been settled and the arrears of salary still due to him had

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been paid. We have already stated that he had entrusted Captain Casati with this matter. The manner in which this arrangement was brought about will best be gathered from the official report of the German Consulate, which runs as follows :—

“ ZANZIBAR, 10th July, 1890.

“ I beg to hand Your Excellency herewith a letter from Sig. Casati, dated the 4th of last month, forwarded to me by Major von Wissmann, from which Your Excellency will see that Sig. Casati has arranged your claims against the Egyptian Government and deposited the sum paid in settlement thereof with the Imperial German Consul-General at Cairo in 4 per cent. Egyptian Rents. Sig. Casati in his letter raises the question in what manner the estate of Your Excellency, in the event of your death, could best be secured on behalf of your daughter Ferida, now at Bagamoyo. . . . According to a communication received from Major von Wissmann, the Egyptian Government has declined to entertain the claims raised by Sig. Casati on his own behalf; or, rather, has relied on the fact that no proof had been adduced to show that Sig. Casati was in the Egyptian service during the time he spent with you in the interior of Africa. According to Major Wissmann's opinion, Sig. Casati's cause would be materially promoted if you were to send a certificate showing the duration and nature of the services rendered by Sig. Casati to the Egyptian Government, and I should therefore suggest that you should send me a document to that effect, for transmission to Sig. Casati or to the Egyptian Government.

“ *The Imperial Consul-General,*

“ MICHAHELLES.”

A few days later, a letter on this subject was also sent to Emin by the Imperial Commissariat :—

“ IMPERIAL GERMAN COMMISSARIATE FOR EAST AFRICA,

“ ZANZIBAR, 24th July, 1890.

“ TO HIS EXCELLENCY DR. EMIN PASHA,—

“ I beg to hand you herewith a certified copy of a communication sent to the Consulate here by the Foreign Office

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at Berlin, and which specifies the amount granted to Your Excellency by the Egyptian Government in settlement of your claim.

“By order,

“RICHELMANN.

“Annex :—

“CAIRO, 31st May, 1890.

“The well-known African explorer and companion of Emin Pasha, Captain Casati, arrived a few weeks ago at Cairo, on his way back to Italy. The Italian colony and the representative of Italy here arranged a series of festivities in his honour; the Khedivial Geographical Society granted him a diploma of honour; and the Khedive personally presented him with the Cross of a Commander of the Medjideh Order.

“Casati has been endeavouring, by virtue of a general power of attorney, given him by Emin Pasha at Bagamoyo, to effect a settlement with the Egyptian Government as regards Emin Pasha's claims against the Government. . . . Emin Pasha, who was in the Egyptian service from July, 1875, to March, 1890, received no salary as Governor of the Soudan since 1883. The amount of the salary never appears to have even been fixed. According to the laws applicable in the case, Emin Pasha is not yet entitled to a pension, but may claim a gratuity equalling the average monthly salary for each year of service. The years of service in the Soudan are to be reckoned as half as many again. Active assistance having been rendered by the Imperial Consul-General, the negotiations led to the result that the Egyptian Government agreed to fix the amount of salary in arrear at £600 sterling per annum. But after Herr von Brauer had left Cairo, the English financial official of the Egyptian Government declared, in a letter dated the 18th inst., that he could not, under any circumstances, grant more than two-thirds of the £600, or reckon the time of service in the Soudan otherwise than at the actual number of years of service. Casati did not accept these terms, and proposed to place his mandate in my hands.

“Sir Evelyn Baring and the representative of the Egyptian Financial Ministry requested me to induce Casati to waive

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his decision. Sir Evelyn Baring offered three-fourths, and subsequently the Ministry of Finance offered five-sixths of the sum claimed. . . . Finally all demands were agreed to ; viz., £600 per annum since 1882, the time of service in the Soudan to be reckoned as half as much again, and consequently a gratuity of £50 each for twenty years of service, or altogether about £5,200 sterling. This amount was paid to Casati.

““ BECKER.

““ To His Excellency the Imperial Chancellor
von Caprivi, General of Infantry, Berlin.”

At one time the indifference exhibited in Egypt towards Emin's claims was absolutely inexcusable ; this may perhaps be accounted for in some measure by the numerous political reverses suffered. To the Egyptians themselves the very name of the Soudan had always been an abomination. When some time previously Professor Schweinfurth went to Nubar Pasha's house with a letter from Junker, written from the southern extremity of the Victoria Lake, he was actually dismissed with the words, "Egypt has no longer a Government, etc." By a strange coincidence, the sum named at the time by Professor Schweinfurth was exactly the same (viz., 10,000 marks [*sic*]) as was subsequently demanded by Lord Iddesleigh from Egypt in Stanley's name.¹ A few weeks after Lord Iddesleigh had telegraphed that Stanley was about to start, Nubar Pasha himself called on Professor Schweinfurth ; after that the Egyptian Government suddenly evinced a great interest in Emin's fate. Although, in consequence of the latest news, sentiments of disappointment were entertained at Cairo, they could not well make a complete *volte-face* in their opinions, and willy-nilly had to grant Emin what was due to him.

Emin had already disposed of the greater part of the sum granted him by the Egyptian Government, so that the amounts could be paid over immediately after the money had been received. His daughter Ferida received the greater portion. He also caused a fairly considerable sum to be

¹ £10,000 was demanded for Emin's relief.

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paid to Hakki Pasha's widow ; with whom, as the reader will remember, he had lived at Arco and Neisse. This amount was sufficiently large, at any rate, to cover his personal travelling expenses, etc., during the time they were travelling together.

On the 26th of August the mail was despatched from Tabora to the coast, and thereupon preparations were made for a start. We will give just one instance to show that Emin was not without worries, even in regard to his European subordinates. On the 26th of August he made the following entry in his diary :—

“Colour-Sergeant Hoffmann behaved very improperly to-day towards Stuhlmann, and I have taken him down a peg or two ; it seems that the non-commissioned officers want ‘taking down’ every month. They are treated here as one of ourselves, and yet they are presumptuous.”

On the 28th of August all was ready for a start. They first proceeded north-east to Uyui, and then almost due north. The next report sent by Emin to the Imperial Commissioner ran as follows :—

“USONGO, 8th September, 1890.

“With reference to my letter of the 26th of August from Tabora, I have the honour to inform you that the expedition left Tabora on the 28th, and Uyui on the 30th. There I concluded the annexed treaty with the chief of the country, and a piece of ivory (R.K. No. 11, weight 79 lbs.), which was presented to the expedition by the chief, was left with Mr. Stokes, with the request that he should forward it to the coast. Please credit the amount it realises, after deducting expenses, to the expedition. From Uyui the expedition came here to Usongo, and is awaiting Lieutenant Langheld's arrival from Urambo ; but should this be delayed, will proceed towards the lake, leaving the requisite instructions behind.

“On my arrival here I received a letter from Mr. Stokes, from Mamboga, requesting me to expect him here, as he will arrive about the 20th of this month. He adds, that he assumes the Imperial Commissariat has acquainted me with

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the arrangements made with him, and asks me not to take any steps whatever in Unyamwesi until his arrival. In the first place, I may say that I know nothing of the arrangements which have been made there ; and, moreover, the letter reached me too late to render it possible for me to bind myself in this respect. I hear privately that Mr. Sigl is appointed to occupy Tabora. Seeing that Mr. Stokes is at present bringing with him two English engineers, who are to put together the steamer now lying at the English station of Usambiro and set it afloat on the lake, it is of the utmost importance that we should establish a station on the southern shore of the lake, and prevent any importation of arms from Usambiro. On one occasion seventy Remington rifles were sent from Usambiro to Uganda ; and if once the steamer is afloat, any quantity of arms and ammunition can be introduced from Kavirondo into German territory. I therefore venture to propose that, in accordance with my former suggestions, officers and men for Tabora should be sent on from the shore as soon as possible, and that, on the other hand, Mr. Stokes should be directed to establish a station at a suitable point on the southern shore of the lake and garrison that station by Mr. Sigl and his men. In my opinion, a garrison of twenty men and one sergeant will be quite sufficient for Usongo, as an intermediate point between Mpwapwa and the lake, more especially if larger stations exist at Tabora and at the lake.

“In that event the expedition will have to garrison the western shore of the lake.

“I repeat my request for immediate information as to the arrangements made with England, together with the requisite explanations, as hitherto newspaper rumours only have come to my knowledge, and the last two mails brought no official letters whatever for the expedition.

“I also repeat my application for maps comprising the territory between the lakes.

“I have succeeded in engaging some artisans at Tabora and Uyui for the expedition ; they are to assist us at the new station at the lake, and consist of an engine-fitter and smith trained at the mission at Bagamoyo, with assistants, a brick-

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layer, and a carpenter who has worked with Mackay. As regards their wages, I shall report from the lake when sending in the list of the expedition staff. Hitherto four of the mounts of the expedition have died, viz., two horses and two white donkeys ; an ass, which is with foal, has been left at Tabora, one has gone to the coast with Dr. Peters, and one has been given to Herr von Bülow. A new donkey was bought at Tabora.

“DR. EMIN PASHA,
“*Chief of the Expedition.*”

On the 9th of September Emin wrote to Zanzibar :—

“I shall start from here early the day after to-morrow, and hope to reach the lake before any harm befalls the missionaries. I believe I shall be acting according to the Imperial Commissioner's wishes if I afford every possible protection to them. As regards Mr. Gedge, I believe Mr. Stokes will be acting directly against our interests if he sells his goods (arms, powder, etc.) to the English ; I shall therefore leave behind me a protest in writing. No doubt the Imperial Commissioner will communicate direct with Mr. Stokes on this matter. Should his goods be purchasable for money, and not too dear, I should probably buy them on account of the Imperial Commissariat. As regards the Arabs in Magu, they will simply have to submit to whatever I think proper, and if they object they will be expelled from the country.”

Here we feel bound to insert the following letters addressed to Emin by the Imperial Commissioner's deputy, as it is necessary that the reader should be acquainted with their contents in order to form a correct opinion on further events, because by these letters the original aims and objects of the whole expedition are upset. Probably no very definite limits had been officially laid down as to the extent to which the expedition was originally intended to advance into the interior ; but no doubt, as appears from the instructions of the 30th of March, 1890, already communicated, the intention was that it should advance up to the Congo State, in a direction forming an extension of the line from Kilimanjaro and the Kavirondo Bay, and up to the 30th degree of eastern

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latitude, that is to say, to gain for Germany the greater part of Uganda, Unyoro, and the Albert Nyanza. Emin entertained the most sanguine hopes with regard to these regions, and more especially Uganda; and, as the reader will remember, he found his hopes thoroughly justified when he heard from Dr. Peters, at Mpwapwa, that King Mwanga, in recognition of the assistance rendered to him, had expressed his willingness to acknowledge German supremacy, but no other. These hopes and plans were now frustrated at one blow by the following letters :—

“ZANZIBAR, 30th of August, 1890.

“Enclosed herewith Your Excellency will find the verbatim text of the latest Anglo-German convention, which has already been sanctioned by both Governments, and is now in force. Consequently Your Excellency is, of course, bound to observe the stipulations fixed therein. I respectfully request Your Excellency to confine yourself to the establishment of stations and relations with chiefs, in our sphere of interests only. An employment of the expedition and of the troops of the Imperial Commissariat for other purposes is completely precluded. I further request Your Excellency to communicate with Mr. Stokes, and to come to an understanding with him as regards the establishment of stations. It is Mr. Stokes' as well as my own desire that he (Mr. Stokes) should take charge of the station at the Victoria Lake (Mkombi), while Your Excellency should be in a position, in view of the numerical strength of the expedition, to establish two stations, say, perhaps, at Tabora [therefore in opposition to the wishes of Major von Wissmann, the Imperial Commissioner, who was absent on leave.—*German Editor's note*], and in Ujiji (Karema). At any rate, I request you to divide with him the sphere of action, and report here as soon as possible as to the arrangements made. . . .

“I regret to say I am not in a position to comply with the requisitions sent in your letter of the 5th of July entirely. As Your Excellency is no doubt aware, a sum of 60,000 marks has been allowed for the entire cost of the expedition, to be exceeded in extreme emergency only. But, according

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to the statement lately drawn up by my desire, the total expense incurred on behalf of the expedition already amounts to 81,660 rupees, or about 120,000 marks, and any further excess must be absolutely avoided. . . .

"I shall have this list examined, and as soon as I receive notice of the establishment of the station I shall send up the articles for the station by a large caravan.

"I trust that in this I am acting in accordance with Your Excellency's views, and shall be pleased to receive communications as to the further progress of the expedition.

"With best wishes and kind regards to Your Excellency and your officers, I am,

"Yours respectfully,

"SCHMIDT,

"Deputy Imperial Commissioner for East Africa."

Simultaneously with the above Emin received another document, written eight days later, which ran as follows :—

"BAGAMOYO, 7th September, 1890.

"With reference to the annexed letter, I venture again to point out that it appears urgently desirable that the establishment of stations should now be proceeded with at once without delay. I suppose I may assume that you have already made arrangements to this effect with Mr. Stokes, and I await your report thereon by return. I have already expressed to you my wishes in this regard; they are to the effect that Your Excellency should undertake the establishment of stations in Tabora [this had long been done, without, however, meeting with the support of the Imperial Commissariat.—*German Editor's note*] and Ujiji (Karema), and that Mr. Stokes should undertake the station at the Victoria Lake. The greatest possible acceleration of this matter appears imperative, because, apart from other reasons, troubles and disputes have again broken out in Uganda, which may possibly end in the expulsion of Mwanga and the French missionaries. In the latter event, the expelled missionaries would probably welcome our stations most gladly as a point of support, and it would also be in our own interest to receive them.

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"In several instances I have already found it very unpleasant and inconvenient that so little news comes to hand from Your Excellency, and it has appeared to me absolutely surprising that in the official letters received from Your Excellency scarcely any reference is made to service matters, to reports on the progress of the expedition as to its staff and state of health, the political conditions of Your Excellency's further intentions, etc.

"I must therefore point out to Your Excellency that you are under an official obligation to send in such reports. Should Your Excellency, personally, lack time for doing so, I request you to give orders to the officers under your command, to make these reports regularly, as far as possible, by every mail.

"Some cases of bird-skins, plants, etc., have arrived safely, and will be forwarded shortly to Berlin.

"With kind regards to Your Excellency and the other gentlemen of the expedition,

"I am, etc.,

"SCHMIDT,

"Deputy Imperial Commissioner for East Africa."

Chapter XXX

AT THE VICTORIA NYANZA

ON the 27th of September the expedition arrived at the Victoria Nyanza, viz., on a narrow bay deeply indenting the land towards the south, and which Emin calls the "creek." On the very next day he sent a long letter to his sister at Neisse, giving an account of the difficulties he had encountered.

"BUSISI, 28th September, 1890.

"Although no doubt my last letter from Usongo is still on the way, I am already commencing another ; I promised to send you news from every halting-place, and hence I must not delay.

"I stopped a few days only at Usongo, where Mr. Stokes has an establishment, and where I was last year with Stanley. The place is not a pleasant one to live in ; a vast, perfectly bare plain without a shrub or tree, over which the winds sweep, whirling up clouds of dust ; a regular piece of African desert steppe. Thanks to the accidental arrival of a party of Wasukuma, I was able to obtain porters, and, although the terms were very exacting, I accepted them and left on the sixth day after my arrival.

"It is a nasty piece of road from Usongo to the lake, more especially at this season, when all is parched and shrivelled, and a little dirty water is all that is available on the way for drinking. We left our night-quarters at noon in the scorching sun and marched on till night, then spent the whole night without any water, and marched on next day until 11 a.m. before we reached the next place where water was obtainable. Only those who have experienced it can credit with what

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delight one drinks a glass even of the dirtiest water after such a march.

"Otherwise we fared tolerably ; we had plenty to eat, and game was so abundant that we were always well provided. The natives were everywhere friendly, and we camped almost every night in the neighbourhood of a village. My men, who, at the outset, were rather a mixed lot, have gradually got fairly well accustomed to discipline ; and the soldiers, all of them negroes, go through their drill very well, and behave well under fire. The natives always come rushing up in crowds whenever, on rest days, an officer or sergeant forms the men up and they go through a few evolutions. Thus we move slowly up here. From Makolo I went to visit the grave of my friend Mackay at Usambiro, and called on Mr. Deakes, and the Rev. Mr. Walker, from whom I returned very well pleased with my reception. Not that the English station is a pretty or a pleasant place ; the practical Catholic missionaries alone know how to establish pretty stations here, just as they alone know how to give the natives a useful education. But I was most kindly received by the gentlemen, one of whom I knew before, and was overwhelmed with courtesies of every kind. Unfortunately I could only stay there one day because my porters were urging me to let them return home soon, and I must admit that I too was in a hurry to behold again the green waters of Victoria Nyanza. I feel that every step I advance towards the north is bringing me nearer my old home. Hence, I was heartily glad when I got the first view of the rippling waters of the broad creek stretching far into the land. After two more marches we arrived at Busisi on the western bank of the creek, just opposite the French mission station of Bukumbi. . . .

"I have as many cows as I require ; game is plentiful—zebras, giraffes, and antelopes are here in abundance ; the water supplies fish, some very large ones (there are also numerous crocodiles !) ; vegetables are plentiful, what more can we wish for ?

"We were very kindly welcomed by Monseigneur Hirth and his confreres, and have already paid them a visit ; two of the missionaries are Germans and the other Frenchmen. The

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mission is a charming place, a monument to the activity of the missionaries ; you shall have a photo of it, together with the other photos from the Victoria Lake. Unfortunately the missionaries have lost many of their number. But new ones are always forthcoming, and no doubt Bishop Livinghac, whom I met on my way, will see that the supply is kept up. There are at the mission a number of pupils from Uganda, Unyanyembe, and Usukuma who are being trained to work.

"I have built a pretty hut for myself, and I am now sitting in it, surrounded by my goods and chattels, instruments, collections, birds hung up for drying, etc. It is strange how quickly one learns to be content with little ; it seems to me as if I had never been better off in my life, and therefore I feel happy even with a minimum of comfort.

"The actual lake itself is a few miles further on, and can be reached from here by boat in three hours. I shall have to stay here a few days longer before I can start. The small chiefs are constantly making war upon each other ; the land lies idle, and no corn is to be had. This must be put an end to, and the people must be made to understand that they are fit for something better than robbers.

"By a fortunate coincidence, some twenty Waganda boats arrived here just about the time I came ; they were sent here by King Mwanga to make purchases. Among the people I found a good many old acquaintances, and at once arranged with them to take me a few days' journey over the lake to the western bank, where I shall pitch my tent with Chief Kaiyanga, an old acquaintance, and await further developments, as the English appear to absolutely decline to let us have Uganda, and I cannot blame them. Uganda, though now laid waste, is the pearl among the countries all round here.

"Since the news of my arrival has spread, people have been sent to me from all sides ; some have come all the way from Mkole with invitations, and if I were to remain some time in this country a good deal of work might be done for Germany. I intend to begin by establishing a station on the frontier of Uganda to serve me as a base of operations.

"In two or three days my official mail will be ready for

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despatch, and if I can then find messengers it shall be sent to Usongo, where Mr. Stokes will attend to its conveyance to Mpwapwa, the last German station, about eighteen days' march from the coast. I have already made all necessary arrangements for the establishment of a regular mail service to the coast, and am only awaiting Major Wissmann's return to arrange everything finally with him. I do not care to speak to you of my collections, as I am by no means satisfied with them. I have collected a good deal, but nothing new, and after all that is the main thing. Dr. Fischer has unfortunately taken all the cream off my milk. On the other hand, Dr. Stuhlmann, whose researches are among lower animals, will bring home a rich harvest, as he is first in the field in this department.

"At this moment I am engaged in making a list, with notes, on the birds and fauna of the Albert Lake for publication in the *Ibis*, the organ of the British Ornithologists' Union, of which I am a foreign member. An essay on mammiferæ, fishes, etc., is to follow. Unhappily my eyes are badly affected, and but for the fact that I cannot live without a salary and have to provide for Ferida I should simply retire to some corner and take my ease.

"6th October.

"There has been considerable delay, but at last we are about to start. I have twenty-six boats from Uganda, and am going right across the lake to Karagwe. I have written to the Consul-General appointing you Ferida's guardian. If anything should happen to me, take care of her and teach her something useful.

"With kindest love,

"Your brother,

"EMIN."

The statements given in this letter are supplemented to some extent by the following official report sent two weeks later to the Imperial Commissariat :—

"BUSISI (VICTORIA NYANZA), 11th October, 1890.

"With reference to my last letter from Usongo, I have the honour to report as follows :—

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"Thanks to the timely arrival of a number of Wasukuma, I was able to hire porters ; and although Lieutenant Langheld had not yet returned from his expedition against the Wangoni, I started for the lake on the 11th of September, leaving behind the requisite instructions for him. The annexed surveys and reports by Dr. Stuhlmann will give the requisite information as to the country and the route. I need only add that the population everywhere behaved in the most friendly spirit, and Usukuma ought certainly to be kept in view for the future. Water is abundant everywhere, and with an efficient administration and protection of the population against the attacks of the Wangoni, the Wasukuma could be trained into men who would no doubt be superior to the Wanyamwesi for reliability and discipline, and they would have the additional merit of not being such thieves.

"To judge from letters received, the situation in Uganda must have been rather threatening about this time. We therefore marched without delay as far as Makolo's village, where the English missionaries of Usambiro received us very kindly, but seemed to be very anxious that we should not meddle in Uganda affairs. Two days before our arrival, Mr. Gedge, the agent of the Imperial British East Africa Company, left suddenly after a month's stay at Usambiro, taking with him the boat belonging to the English ; but they kindly volunteered to lend it us afterwards to take the expedition across to Karagwe. A number of pupils of the mission came into the camp wanting to go with us, but were sent back. Two days after we left Makolo's village we were overtaken, at Uhoka, by Sergeant Kühne, who, by order of Lieutenant Langheld, brought some forty soldiers to strengthen the much weakened expedition, and Langheld himself hoped to obtain porters from Metinginia and Usongo, and to follow shortly. Sergeant Kühne brought the annexed reports from Lieutenant Langheld as to his encounters with the Wangoni.

"On the 27th of September the expedition reached Busisi, situated on the creek of the Ukerewe Lake, opposite the French mission station of Bukumbi, and, as the Wasukuma engaged at Tabora and Usongo left us here, we pitched our camp for a time so as to reorganise the expedition. I beg

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to enclose lists of all the men here, together with a statement of their pay. I leave the Imperial Commissioner to arrange further matters with Sewa Hadji, but must lay stress on the fact that about two-thirds of the porters provided by him never reached Bukumbi, and the expedition in all probability would never have arrived there had we not obtained other porters. The situation in this country, on our arrival, was somewhat as follows : twenty boats had arrived from Uganda, and from the statements of the leaders it appeared that the friction between the Catholic and the Protestant party had reached its climax, and King Mwanga was simply a figure-head, without any power. At the same time his people were engaged in a fight against the Arab refugees from Uganda who were in league with Kabrega. Mr. Jackson left Uganda some time ago, and Mr. Gedge, his representative, had come here to await Mr. Stokes. At the time of our arrival he was staying with a chief of the country, some hours' distance in the direction of the lake, and had with him a number of armed men whom he had brought from Mombasa. My first endeavour was directed towards securing the Uganda boats, which I succeeded in doing, notwithstanding some difficulties. The boats are still here, and are to be used for taking part of the expedition across to Karagwe. Not long after our arrival, the English boat returned from the north, and I at once wrote asking for it. Meanwhile I received a letter from Mr. Gedge. If he had not asked me, I should never have thought of assisting him, because I have nothing to do in Uganda, and have expressed myself to this effect to the English at Usambiro ; a second letter, which I received the day before yesterday, shows that brisk communication is being kept up between these gentlemen, probably for the purpose of safeguarding missionary interests. I hope that the prohibition to export arms from here will be strictly maintained. I believe that it is absolutely indispensable that a small station should be established at the mouth of the creek. If I had any available soldiers myself, I should establish one at once ; but it is essential that the expedition should reach Karagwe as soon as possible, and proceed to occupy every part that is still available.

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"Immediately after my arrival here, the French missionaries informed me that there were Arabs at Masansa carrying on an extensive slave trade and bringing quantities of powder and rifles into the country. Last year over 600 slaves are said to have passed through this station, and the Waganda say that they can never venture there now, as they would lose their wives and children. A written notice despatched to these Arabs requesting them to present themselves before me was disregarded; inquiries made among the natives confirmed the report of the missionaries. I therefore instructed Dr. Stuhlmann to go to Masansa with a sufficient number of men and investigate the matter himself, to confiscate any slaves and ammunition found there, and enjoin the people to abstain from any similar offences in the future. At the same time I directed him to use force in the event of any hostile demonstrations on the part of the Arabs or their men, and in that event to confiscate the property of the rebels. Early on the 3rd of October the expedition started. I have the honour to enclose the reports made to me by Dr. Stuhlmann of the proceedings there. From these it appears that the Arabs, numbering about forty or fifty (men from the coast included), and having in their possession large numbers of slaves, succeeded in removing most of them, and afterwards they attacked our people. Consequently, whatever our men seized is our rightful booty, and no one has any claim to it. The slaves brought here—women, children and infants, altogether forty-three—have been handed over to the Catholic mission, and only three or four women out of the number are to accompany us, later on to be restored to their friends at Karagwe and Nkole. I may mention that at the present moment some of the people from Nkole are here carrying ivory to Mr. Stokes, from the Sultan Ntalili, and apparently we have succeeded in gaining them over.

"On the second day after Dr. Stuhlmann marched from here, some Arabs from Masansa turned up and have been detained. In a few days I shall send them to Mr. Stokes to be sent on by him to the coast. A revival of Arab influence or re-establishment of Arab stations on the lake has been rendered impossible by recent events, and a definite stop

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has been put to the slave trade, at least for some time to come. The Wasukuma have shown themselves very friendly, and were very glad to be relieved from the oppression of the Arabs. However, a good deal still remains to be set right in Usukuma. Ruoma, the principal chief of the country, whose dominion extends from the creek to nearly as far as Karagwe, is quite incapable and very unpopular. At present he is here to claim our protection against a rival. On the other hand, order ought to be restored in the district of Muansa, and a friendly chief should be put into power there. But more important than all is the establishment of the stations at the northern corner of Muansa and near Kavirondo. An English steamer is lying unfinished at Usambiro. Might we not purchase it? The thing to be done now is to secure the territory from Karagwe to the Tanganyika and the region of Kavirondo, with the Wembare steppe, all ivory-producing countries; all that lies west of Tanganyika belongs to the Congo territory; I can pronounce no opinion as to the south-eastern territory. So it is high time for us to secure what is left. As will be seen from the annexed letter, the Arabs at Ujiji have declared themselves ready to join us and are only awaiting our arrival. I have taken the necessary steps to definitely gain them over.

“ I gather from a communication received from Mr. Stokes, that he is not bringing with him anything for this expedition, although I have repeatedly applied for ammunition, neither have I received the instructions frequently asked for concerning the regulation of the frontier; in fact, all my reports ever since I was at Mpwapwa have remained unanswered. I am therefore compelled to declare that should the expedition come to a standstill anywhere for want of ammunition or men, or should any *contretemps* occur in relation to the frontiers, I cannot, under the circumstances, hold myself responsible. I will avail myself of the first opportunity that presents itself to forward the ivory taken from the Arabs. [This booty was destined to become fatal to Emin later on, the Arabs having never forgiven him for seizing it.—*German Editor's note.*] I venture to request that in return for this ivory the expe-

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dition may be assisted with some boats, ammunition, medicines, soldiers, and, if possible, a small steamer and some small cannons. As regards the English steamer at Usambiro previously referred to, the engine only exists; a boat for it would have to be ordered from Europe. As a matter of fact, the amount realised by the sale of the ivory should nearly suffice for the purchase of a small steamboat. Further consignments of ivory shall follow.

“Lieutenant Langheld has not yet arrived here, as he can get nothing out of Metinginia but empty phrases. In a few days I intend to send Dr. Stuhlmann with a part of the expedition right across Uhingia to Karagwe, while I myself shall proceed across the lake by the Waganda boats. We shall meet at Makongo, and shall establish a permanent station near that place. From Makongo to the mouth of the Kagera is only one day’s journey, and the Kagera is navigable far inland even by a steam launch. Should the expedition be compelled to start before Langheld’s arrival, part of the loads would be left behind at the French mission in charge of a sergeant until I am in a position to send boats here from Karagwe. The men and goods are in good order, but we lack an efficient Soudanese sergeant. I repeat my request for uniforms, ammunition and men, but must remark that the Soudanese supply to the expedition probably represents the scum of all the Soudanese to be found at the coast, and if no better material is available I should prefer to receive Suaheli soldiers or Zulus, as I am quite content with those I have here. The Wangwana caravan soldiers engaged for the expedition turn out fairly well.

“DR. EMIN PASHA.”

On the 19th October, Emin started across the Victoria Nyanza, but on the second day after had to break the journey, contrary to his wish, in consequence of unfavourable weather. He took advantage of this delay to write to his sister :—

“BUENGO, 21st *October*, 1890.

“It is so stormy on the lake that the boatmen will not

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venture out, and hence I am at leisure to write to you. I trust you received my letters from Tabora ; those from Usongo and Busisi are still in transit. I had to stay at Busisi longer than I cared to, and longer than was good for the discipline of the men.

“During my sojourn I repeatedly visited the Catholic mission of the Pères d’Alger, and had most friendly relations with them ; they have been most courteous to me, and I can only speak of them in the highest terms. There is a peculiar contrast between the Catholic and the English Protestant missions in East Africa : in the former there is lack of men and means,—in fact, actual want ; in the latter plenty of money and men, and abundance. On the one hand we find hard work and the earnest endeavour to train their pupils to become useful in life ; on the other hand too much value is attached to forms of piety, and they are content with results which, after all, in many cases, are merely superficial. I could say a good deal on this matter. At any rate, if we wish to obtain results here we shall have to promote the Catholic missions in every way, and support them and supply them with the means for training the natives, so that they may be useful for our purposes. Why should not artisans of the country be trained in the missions ? why should not sergeants, clerks, and petty officials for the country be taken from among their pupils ?

“According to the new regulations, a new era is now commencing for German East Africa ; may the authorities remember in good time that here the Church can render invaluable service to the State. But let us leave politics to those who are wiser than we.

“On the 18th of October, at 11 a.m., I had my men and goods taken across to the Bukumbi shore of the lake, where also the mission is situated, and pitched my camp there in a pretty place situated at the foot of high rocks. Before doing so, I had to say good-bye at the mission, and to see Monseigneur Hirth, who was lying ill. Meanwhile I was pleasantly surprised by the arrival of a courier, who brought in the expedition mails from the coast, including kind letters from you and Grethe of the 3rd of July, for

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which I am much obliged. I shall look upon them as a good omen for my journey, and hope that many more will follow before I have to turn my steps homeward.

"After finishing my business, I returned to the camp, inspected everything, and then conducted Dr. Stuhlmann to the boat which took him back to our old camp at Busisi. He has a hard task before him, for he is to take the bulk of the men and goods round by land, while the doubtful good fortune of crossing the lake by the Waganda boats fell to my share. Such moments of parting are of greater significance here in Africa than elsewhere. The uncertainties of life are greater here. I have become very much attached to Stuhlmann, on account of his unpretending, courteous conduct on the one hand, and his scientific and general efficiency and industry on the other. A pleasant journey to him !

"Early on the 19th of October all was ready. Some twenty medium-sized Waganda boats with long swan-necked prows were lying ready ; the things had been put on board, the men distributed, and from the deck of my boat the German flag was floating. The Fathers came to say good-bye, and brought the welcome news that the sick Bishop was progressing favourably,—one more hand-shake, a volley of musketry, and off we went into the creek, along the eastern bank of which we proceeded at a fairly good rate, my boat taking the lead.

"The Waganda, or rather Wasesse (for the men are from the island of Sesse), are very hardy and skilful oarsmen, and kept the boat going at a fair rate.

"As there was no need here for manœuvring as formerly on my steamers on the Albert Lake, I could quietly look at the landscape around me. It did not present much to look at.

"There is scarcely any vegetation to speak of just now, shortly before the commencement of the rainy season. But for the narrow strips of green along the water's edge, nearly all is dry and withered. Among the rocks there are some green bushes, and now and then a gigantic sycamore is seen.

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"Everywhere are boulders, slabs and blocks of rock. This is the home of the graceful *Hyrax*, which is frequently seen basking in the sun on the rocks; there is also a pretty species of small antelope (*Orcotragus*), and there are numbers of Ichneumon, besides herds of baboons, which greet every intruder with loud barks. But there are worse inhabitants of these regions; no sooner has the sun set than the air seems filled with the howls of the spotted hyena, and about ten at night leopards commence to prowl about, nor are lions scarce. In the creek the hippopotami are grunting, and on every dry strip of land crocodiles are basking in the sun. Birds are numerous here, and I have even met some acquaintances from my old home. There are flocks of swallows (*H. rustica*), which appear to have but lately arrived here.

"Not much is to be seen of the inhabitants of the country. They are Watusi, that mysterious pastoral tribe called further north Wahuma or Wauma, who immigrated here from the north. For years past I have been collecting materials for an essay concerning them, and hope to be able to conclude it before long.

"Our voyage was only once interrupted. The men in the boat saw a sugar-cane plantation on the shore, and steered the boat over to gather some of the canes. Then they hurried to make up for lost time. It had turned very hot, and the boats afforded no protection against the sun. It would not do to put up any kind of awning, as this would offer too much resistance to the violent winds now prevalent and also entail so much additional labour.

"At 12.30 p.m., after about four hours' journey, we entered the Bay of Niangesi, and landed at 12.45 on a sandy strip of the bank. The camp was soon pitched; my men had a goat which we had brought with us for their dinner, while I myself went to the French mission near by, where I had been most kindly invited to dinner by Père Achte, my old travelling companion.

"The house is very pretty, the gardens are being laid out. Potatoes (of which I am taking some for seed), cabbages, radishes, and lettuce grow well here. I have brought with

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me a large parcel of seeds, and as soon as I have a suitable place I shall start planting assiduously.

"The day passed quickly. Although Père Achte kindly offered me a room, I spent the night in my tent. I am used to nomadic life, and preferred to be near my men. Early in the morning I took my leave from the missionaries, and at 6.45 we were on our way, steering obliquely through the bay towards the actual lake. As we have now taken to boating life for a time, I will acquaint you with the arrangements of my own boat. A high prow, the rudder (resembling an oar) at the stern, and my arm-chair. The boat is made up of planks tied together and painted red, and is paddled by fourteen men, who are seated in couples on the cross-beams. It also contains my most indispensable impedimenta, my three lads (servants, two from my province and one from Zanzibar), a very fair-complexioned woman and several Waganda, a sheep, some fowls and numerous insects. Quite a Noah's ark!

"The men paddled splendidly, although the wind was strong and there was a heavy swell. Improvised races were often indulged in between some of the boats, but towards noon the lake became very stormy; wave after wave broke over the side of the boat, thoroughly drenching all of us, and we had to bale most industriously, and were very glad when at eleven o'clock we were able to lay to at the Isle of Dyma, which is fairly large. At one time it was inhabited, but now is deserted owing to the raids of the Waganda. Exactly opposite, on the mainland and within hail, stands the village of Chief Ruoma. The first thing that attracted our attention here was a large number of crocodile eggs, all of them containing fully developed young ones.

"Here we cooked our dinner. Menu: cold meat, sweet potatoes baked in their skins in hot ashes, coffee and cigarettes. Towards 2 p.m. we continued our journey on very troubled waters, and against a strong wind. At 4.24 we made an attempt to land, but abandoned it, as the heavy surf almost smashed our boats against the stony belt lining the bank. To our right was the island of Kome, but we could not well

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land there, as the Waganda were afraid of the Kome people, and for the time being I had reasons for avoiding any conflict. We therefore proceeded over very ugly shallows grown over with rushes, through which we had to drag the boats. There was an abundance of beautifully scented pink water-lilies, but a similar abundance of crocodiles rendered these tugging matches, in which we all had to take a hand, rather unpleasant. Moreover, the mud emits unpleasant odours.

"At last, at 5 p.m., we landed and pitched our camp near some broad shelves of rock close to Ruoma's village of Buengo; his people at once brought me presents of bananas, fowls, eggs, and gourds. I am now weatherbound here, and the wind is still high. The waves on the lake roll so high that it would be madness to attempt a start, so I must have patience. Should it get calmer during the night, I shall proceed immediately. Meanwhile I will collect a little, and take at least one observation as to my exact whereabouts.

"I will continue this letter while on my way. I have not yet received any orders to turn back, and I therefore proceed and do my duty. As a matter of fact, I do not belong to the Imperial Commissariat, but, like Wissmann and Gravenreuth, I am directly subordinate to the Foreign Office. Several weeks may still elapse before I receive orders from there, but I have told Wissmann and Gravenreuth that unless they come back I shall leave, and very likely it will come to that. Do not worry on that account; I shall always find a crust somewhere, and I have not yet abandoned the idea of having you with me. Just now very favourable offers have been made me with regard to literary work, and I only wish my eyes were well enough to permit my accepting them all. A hundred marks for a page of printed matter is certainly a tempting offer. Then, if you were with me, Grethe should be my secretary; I should leave her to name her own terms.

"Many thanks for your kind inquiries after Ferida. She is with her Arab governess at Bagamoyo in a house I have taken, and my old servants, male and female, are with her."

"BUENGO, 23rd October, 1890.

"That mariners may be frost-bound is no novel experience,

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but we are regularly weather-bound. The wind is so violent and the waves on the lake roll so high that it would be sheer madness to urge the men to attempt a start. Had I no goods to carry, I should risk it. Unless it gets calmer during the day, I shall continue the journey during the night and let the men rest by day. I have now lost two full days, and have had nothing except annoyance and discomfort. Any one would feel rather disconsolate sitting as I do on his packed-up goods and chattels, like the Jews on the ruins of Babylon, hoping to be able to start every minute, and having nothing to eat because the cook has packed up his stores.

"But I have at least one resource, namely to take my rifle and go out into the neighbourhood. It is certainly pretty here. Before us spreads the wide lake with numerous green islands and the bright green water on which the sun rays are glittering, and all along the bank a foaming line of breaking waves. The gently ascending banks are all strewn with groups of rocks, often rising up menacingly like the walls of a fortress, but mostly forming broad flat hillocks, from which one commands a splendid view. In between, scattered among banana woods, are the huts and fields of the natives. Enormous broad-leaved *ficus* trees, the fresh green of the young manio, and the bananas and the greyish-green of the fragrant *Moschoma*, green meadows and yellow sands, constitute a picturesque landscape, to which numerous birds lend colour and life. All along the lake, gulls, geese, ducks, cranes, and lapwings. In the bushes the sedge warblers and yellow weavers of many varieties. Guinea-fowls in flocks everywhere, and francolins by no means scarce. To my delight I again met with two species of birds which I had previously discovered and described and which are still very rare in the museums of Europe. I have also collected some pretty field-mice, and I believe a new kind of cockle of the *Melania* species. You observe that even nature reminds me of you !

"Really I may say that my time is fairly well occupied. There is the soldiers' drill, then I have to attend patients, make notes, settle disputes, collect and treat with the natives, *voilà le menu*. I am also trying to practise speaking Kiganda and Kinyoro again, and to perfect my knowledge of Suaheli.

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The negro languages of the Bantu branch are all related to each other, and therefore are more easily mastered than the rather difficult pure negro languages. The pronunciation also is easier on account of the numerous vowels.

"Yesterday towards night the chief man of the country, a subordinate of my friend Ruoma, came to pay his respects to me; he was accompanied by about sixty people, men and women, among whom I observed some rather handsome faces. (You will note how hopelessly I am lost to European civilisation.) He brought me some food as a present, and of course I gave him one in return. The bananas are fine, but not sweet, because rain has been wanting; I therefore confine my attention to the unripe ones, which may be stewed, like potatoes, with meat, or made up into a *purée*. Out of this present I can provide for my men for two or three days, reserving eggs and some of the fowls for myself. As a matter of fact, I am amply stocked with provisions; I have a quantity of rice, tea, coffee, sugar, some tinned provisions, and even 'Erbswurst.' After all, we Africans are not quite so uncivilised as is commonly thought. I have never been a drinker, and for this reason I enjoy better health than most Europeans do in these regions."

From this point the journey was continued without further incident, and Emin continued to write regularly to his sister:

"ISLAND OF KURU, 24th October, 1890.

"I was interrupted yesterday, as the wind abated a little and we made a start about noon. It seems that a sinister fate is bent on spoiling my dinner; I had to go without it again to-day. The men had had a good rest, and therefore the boats almost skipped racily across the bluish green surging waters. Regular showers of spray thrown up by the oars and carried by the wind are continually thrown over us, drenching us to the skin, but we have warm sunshine, so that it does not affect us much. We gave the shore a wide berth, and steered our course towards an island adorned with flat shelves of rock and luxuriant vegetation; we reached it at 3.40, and at once pitched our camp in a clear space in the woods, just above high water-mark. The whole island, now

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uninhabited, is overgrown with acacias, hung with clusters of fragrant yellow blossoms; now and then a castor-oil plant or a fig tree points to former cultivation. Now the place is the haunt of animals, serpents and birds being very numerous. A very large rodent (I have only found one skull from which I can classify it) appears to be plentiful. I also observed a monkey climbing about in a high tree. Hippopotami and crocodiles of course are numerous. Certainly I find something to collect everywhere.

"Towards evening we suddenly saw a boat coming towards us. It was bringing an invitation from the chief of the Isle of Kome. He sent a message to say that he would have nothing to do with the Waganda, who were robbers, but he had heard of me and desired my friendship. He was also willing to give me provisions and presents. It was too late to make the rather long journey there, so I gave the men some glass beads and requested them to give my compliments to their chief and tell him that if he wished to send me anything he might do so early to-morrow morning. I may explain that the Kome men are known to be treacherous, and therefore I do not intend going there under any circumstances. We spent the night here, and I wanted to start early in the morning, but the chief boatman told me that the wind was too high and we had better wait till about ten. I believe after all he is deceiving me, and simply wants to wait for the provisions from Kome, as a boat coming from there has been in sight from an early hour, and all the islands facing us are said to be desolate. Meanwhile I am trying to collect and occupy myself as well as I can.

"A goose for supper would not be amiss, and even the large reed rats (do not be frightened) have good juicy flesh. Crocodile eggs are numerous, but they have a peculiar smell, somewhat resembling musk.

"Among the inhabitants on the banks of the lake may be seen some very pretty work, such as bracelets of copper wire, anklets, bead ornaments, little baskets, and earthenware vessels, not to mention weapons. I will endeavour to collect some of these things and send them to you; hitherto I have not given much attention to this kind of thing, having

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always given away directly whatever I managed to get hold of. You may do as you like with regard to my letters ; of course personal notes or remarks are not for publication."

"ISLE OF SIRWA, 26th October, 1890.

"We are again weatherbound. Just as I suspected, towards night my amiable companion the Waganda chief came and said he had been waiting all day for the provisions from Kome ; adding that the men had just brought three bunches of bananas only and a gourd of banana wine, and asking me whether I would accept these and whether he was to bring the men before me. I knew quite well that if he offered me these presents, he must have kept three times as much for himself ; I therefore declined, but desired him to bring me the men. They had suddenly disappeared, and I was the richer by another experience. My proposal to travel during the night was declined, and I had thus wasted a whole day without even benefiting my collections to any extent.

"I may mention as an interesting feature that this is the southern and probably also the eastern limit of the zone for the small parrots and love-birds. They were very common in my old province, and I often kept twenty of them in my house.

"Early in the morning I was informed that rain was threatening, and we again wasted time until at last, at 7.45, at my urgent request, we made a start. It was a charming voyage. Although there was scarcely any wind, the waves rose so high that it was only by straining every muscle that the men could make headway against them. It is delightful to be cradled by the waves, the prow now pointing right up to the clouds and then burying itself deep in the waves. It is true that the pleasure is somewhat damped by the continued shower-bath which one must submit to. To-day we travelled far away from the land, and to all appearance were right out alone on the high sea. But the men held out very well, and by about 12.30 we arrived at a flat, richly overgrown island, girdled with menacing rocks. To our astonishment, in an angle between the rocks we saw four boats manned. Had we tried to approach them, our boats would

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infallibly have been stove in. My boatmen asserted that these were Waganda boats sent to meet us, but I did not believe it, as the cut of the boats was different. We now paddled along the rocky walls until we reached an inlet, where we found a kind of natural harbour formed by high blocks of rock and filled with blooming water-lilies and rushes. We landed, and I had my tent pitched under some beautiful clusters of trees and installed my men and things.

"Before long the men whose boats we had previously observed came up. They came, led by a man who wore the royal leopard skin over his shoulder, and presented me with four goats. I found that their chief was Makongo, in whose country I am going to establish a station and whom I am just about to visit—just imagine what a lucky coincidence! They said he had heard I was coming, and he had sent them to meet me to bring me some provisions and conduct me to him; he was quite willing to grant us land and every possible favour if we wished to establish a settlement there.

"The men made a very favourable impression, and we were soon good friends, particularly after I had handed them a goat and various other presents.

"This suits me admirably, and as soon as possible I shall send messengers overland to Stuhlmann for his guidance. If I once gain a firm footing with Makongo, I shall soon command Karagwe and the neighbouring countries, especially as the people all know me.

"ISLAND OF MESWA, *27th October*, 1890.

"At 2.25, yesterday afternoon, the word was suddenly given that we could make a start, as the wind had abated. We proceeded, but it was the maddest dance you can imagine. Now we were on the crest of the waves and then in the furrow between them; and the douches that broke over us! After a while the men found it too much for them, and at 3.23, at the imminent risk of having our boats shattered on the rocks, we steered in between the rocks which gird the island.

"We have been here since yesterday, tormented by millions of ants and waiting for wind and waves to calm.

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Luckily the full moon is near, and we may then hope that a downpour of rain will bring about a change in our favour. It is very nice playing at Robinson Crusoe here for a while, but if it lasts much longer our men will have nothing to eat. Hunting is not to be thought of on these islands. There are not even any guinea-fowls, and the pigeons are very shy. Fishing is impossible owing to the violent surf, and even the crocodiles' eggs all contain large young ones, strange little things which will immediately snap at you. Hence the prospects are by no means brilliant. But all will come right in the end. I have still a few goats left, and also a sack of rice, which I will sacrifice in case of need.

"The island is not so pretty as the one we have left. There are more rocks and less wood, but even here there are some very handsome trees. *Abrus* creepers trail about in every direction ; you know the small red black-headed beans you frequently see in Europe on boxes ornamented with shells ; the root of the creeper may be used instead of liquorice root. Mice build in the rocks ; they are probably the only *Manmifera* on the island ; birds are also plentiful. Numbers of weaver-birds' nests are suspended everywhere ; some are occupied by tree mice, but most of them are deserted. On the rocks among the breakers, and consequently inaccessible, are quantities of water birds, and ravens in abundance.

"UNDULI, ISLAND OF ULIAMBERI, 29th October, 1890.

"I have found no opportunity for writing since the day before yesterday, as we started at 2 p.m. in a great hurry to make the most of a lull in the wind. We were badly tossed about, wave after wave broke over us, and it was only by dint of continual baling that we managed to keep afloat. We were all glad when after one futile attempt to land, frustrated by the heavy surf, at last at 6.10 p.m. we found a landing-place and pulled the boats ashore.

"The Isle of Kasarasi is very long and nearly flat ; close to the bank it is surrounded by a dense belt of wood, but higher up the vegetation is sparse. My tent did not arrive till nine, so I camped in the open air, in the midst of fragrant mimosa bushes, hundreds of frogs chanting my lullaby.

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"I see all around massive pieces of clay of a dark red colour which I am not quite clear about. No doubt they are freshwater formations, but why dark red ?

"Early in the morning I procured a few specimens of a beautiful swallow, quite black, with a snow-white head, an old acquaintance from the Albert Lake. I also caught a tree mouse which had appropriated a weaver-bird's nest and taken up its abode there. I had scarcely dressed the swallow, when the word was given that we were about to start.

"Between here and the Bumbire group, where Stanley once had to fight for his life, there is a stretch of open water, which in stormy weather is very bad to pass, as it is over ten English miles in length and affords no shelter or refuge from storm and waves. I had therefore arranged with the Waganda chief that we should first steer four hours north-west to the Island of Kusa, then another four hours north to Durivi, and lastly, three hours north to reach the Bumbire group ; and at the moment of departure he told me he would act accordingly.

"But scarcely had we left the island when the boats steered due north, and after passing a spot where the water seemed to foam with shoals of little fish, and where hundreds of sea swallows and gulls and geese were busily fishing, we ran right out into the open lake with the sky above and the water all around. Sometimes even when afloat in a good vessel on the open sea, it is curious to feel that nothing but a few planks separate us from the deep, but this sensation becomes accentuated on board such a frail vessel as this. And then the waves ! It is three days since my clothes were dry. The men strained every muscle in order to get ahead, as they knew that it was a long way and that there was no shelter if the wind rose ; but, in spite of their strenuous efforts, hour after hour flitted by and nothing was seen except sky and water, the surging waves and the tossing boats. At last, towards sunset, away in the distance we sighted some rocky shelves—our goal. No sooner had the sun gone down and the full moon risen in purple splendour, than a splendid picture was displayed before us. On the sky, dark clouds chased by the storm, alternating with clear

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bluish moonlight. On the foaming lake, our red boats led by that of the Waganda chief with a lamp in the bow and the big drum sounding on board. Next came my boat with the German flag ; around me some ten other boats, all ploughing the waves into white foam, now rising fantastically high on the crests of the waves, now disappearing in the trough. The oarsmen were chanting and encouraging each other by shouts. A wonderfully pretty scene.

"It was 10.45 p.m. before we beached our boats in a small bay, and as it was then too late to pitch tents, we at once lit large fires in order to dry ourselves after our douches, and pass the night. . . .

"We rose unusually late to-day. I awoke at half-past five, and found that all the men were still sleeping soundly. We started at 7.30, keeping along the coast of the large island, in front of which some groups of rocks, alive with birds, lie like sentries in the lake. The island is indented with deep bays, and fringed with a belt of bushwood, while the hills are sparsely clothed with vegetation. It is said that at one time these slopes were covered with luxuriant banana plantations and huts ; but if so, they have all disappeared, and I can readily understand that the people everywhere receive us with open arms as their deliverers from the Waganda.

"After a short trip of three hours and forty minutes, we entered a deep bay, and are now camping about sixteen yards above the level of the lake, on a slope affording a splendid view over the bay towards the opposite island ; and we are enjoying green bananas to our hearts' content, as they are to be had in abundance in the surrounding villages. The large island on which we are is called Buliambiri.

"The local chief has just arrived to see me. I hear the usual complaints as to the plundering raids of the Waganda, who have even been pillaging this very day. I think I shall get on very well with these people ! their spokesmen appear to be very trustful. To-morrow we shall reach the small island of Kisaka, and the following day we reach Makongo.

"I have just made an excursion into the ravine close by, and was delighted at the abundance and richness of the vegetation. In this ravine, intersected by a small watercourse,

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in some parts quite marshy, but sheltered from the winds by the steep hillsides, quite a little paradise has sprung up. Between the dark trunks of bananas there are clusters of broad-leaved *amomum*, with variegated blossoms and fruits of a pleasant acidulated flavour; an abundance of *rubiacæ*, *caledium*, and *solanum* fill the intervals; and creepers of all kinds, such as *cissus*, *loranthus*, *smilax*, etc., intertwine the whole. Here and there I observed a bush of fragrant *carissa*, or a high *figus* with large shining leaves and loaded with fruit, and occasionally, rising high above all the rest, a gigantic *myristica* with its reddish yellow fruit, or a *diospyrus* with small sweet berries. It requires a great effort to force one's way through all this undergrowth, by bending apart the branches and bushes so as to be just able to creep through.

"Of course this thicket is not without its inhabitants. Grey parrots, of the description you are familiar with, flit over me with a whistling sound. From this region onward they are very plentiful, and they make very fair soup. In the dark recesses of the bush you hear thrushes singing and red shrikes whistling; on the bushes I saw turquoise blue *halcyons* and glittering *nectarinæ* flitting round the flowers. I brought away two very interesting birds, specimens of which I found on the Albert Lake shortly before my last journey, and I am now meeting with them again. How delighted Hartlaub at Bremen will be! What a pity I cannot remain here several days collecting!

"I have bought in a large supply of bananas for my men, and have given them two goats; and the local chief has sent me several pots of banana beer for them. So we are having quite a feast to-day. I, too, may look back with satisfaction on my day's work, and enjoy the beautiful evening over a cigarette and a cup of coffee. I have had a splendid supper, although I had to be my own cook. Chicken soup with rice, mutton with green beans, roasted sweet bananas, and then a cup of coffee. At any rate a princely meal, such as I have not had for a long time.

"To-morrow I shall indulge in some *colocasias*; it grows here in abundance. However, our staple food is still bananas, made up, unripe or ripe, into all kind of dishes, just as you

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do with potatoes. I am, after all, half a vegetarian—do not care much about meat, and am quite content if I can appease my hunger with vegetables or beans. And there is no lack of these. On a pinch, one can make vegetables of all sorts of leaves.

“BUKOBA BAY, *1st November*, 1890.

“Unfortunately we had to stop all day owing to a violent thunderstorm, which raged from 8 a.m. till 1 p.m., deluging us with torrents of rain that never ceased for a moment. I was shivering with cold in my own hut. We could not dream of starting; and as the rain had flooded everything, I could not even go into the wood, so the day was absolutely wasted. Nevertheless, I found a few plants which I have met with only in Monbuttu, thus affording a further proof that the extreme limits of the zone of the flora of the West African sub-region extend as far as this. As regards the fauna, I have proved the same thing years ago.

“Early in the morning the darkness was again very uncanny, the thunder rolled, and our prospects of making a start were by no means brilliant; but by 7.30 we were on our way in fairly calm weather, gliding through the bay along the margin of the island of Kitua, covered with beautiful woods, but not inhabited.

“The boatmen were amusing themselves by racing each other; on every side I heard gay songs, accompanied by the sound of drums and flutes. But the lake is not to be trifled with. At 8.10 we had barely cleared the island, and were steering into the open lake, when a thunderstorm broke over us, accompanied by furious rain. The storm lashed the waves to foam, and threw the white spray right over us; one moment we were on the crest of the waves, and the next right down in the trough—and the deluge that poured over us!

“The storm continued in full fury until 2.35; then, by putting forth all our strength, we got to leeward of the pretty wooded isle of Kisaka, where the water was a little calmer; then we had to cross the narrow channel separating the island from the mainland; here we found very rough water. On going ashore at Luasi, we were greeted by a party of Waganda

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lying there with their boats ; they were on an expedition—doubtless a pillaging one—towards the south. Fires were soon lit along the margin of the wood, so we dried our clothes and roasted some green bananas for dinner.

“At 12.10 we started ; we are paddling under shelter of the mainland, and the lake is calm ; but the sun is so burning hot that I can almost see my hands getting blacker, which in my case is saying a great deal.

“The land does not look very inviting. Long flat ridges of hills, with sparse vegetation and almost destitute of trees, frequently intersected by deep bays with bright white sand. All along the lake there is little to be seen except a sandy beach, and a not very promising vista of grassy tracts behind it. Then a peculiar aspect is presented, by a kind of cliff which rises from the lowest shelf of the bank and forms a steep wall, which it took us quite half an hour to pass. It looks as if a generation of giants had tried to build a mighty terrace. Swifts and halcyons were building their nests in the crevices and fissures. We rounded another rocky promontory and arrived at our destination. The boat entered the broad, pretty bay of Bukoba (unfortunately too exposed), where the first German station in the interior is soon to be established, assuming that a suitable place is found.

“I set foot on shore at 3 p.m., and was welcomed by men from the great local chief Nukodani, who brought some presents and provisions. He sent word that he himself would come for certain to-morrow, *i.e.* to-day, but he has not yet arrived. Patience is wanted with these people, and it is only acquired by long practice.

“The camp was quickly pitched on the outskirts of a thick wood, on the slope of a hill, in full sight of the lake, and during the evening we received many visits from the villagers whose huts lie concealed among the numerous plantations. Our camp is very prettily situated, but dominated by the surrounding hills, and therefore unsuitable from a strategic point of view. I am only awaiting the arrival of the chief to seek another position.

“Meanwhile I have not been idle. This morning I have issued rations to the people, spread out the loads we had

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brought with us to dry, had the rifles cleaned, seen to the sick, held receptions and negotiated with the natives, made purchases and despatched guides and letters to Dr. Stuhlmann.

"Now, by way of relaxation, I am writing to you, and afterwards propose going into the wood for half an hour. Then I shall have dinner; that is to say, a piece of roast goat's meat, with dry bananas in place of bread, and coffee or tea. By that time, at any rate, I trust the chief will arrive."

Chapter XXXI

AT BUKOBA

ON the 30th of October Emin wrote a long letter from the Island of Bumbire, concerning his latest observations in the department of ornithology, to Professor Hartlaub at Bremen.

A few days later he again wrote to his sister as follows :—

“ESTABLISHMENT OF BUKOBA STATION.

“BUKOKA, *6th November*, 1890.

“For some days past I have not found time for writing, because I had my hands full, and was racing all over the country to find a suitable place for a station. Yesterday, building operations were commenced, and to-day, as it has been raining ever since dawn, I have leisure.

“The chief kept me waiting until the second day at noon, and then arrived in full state. He was preceded by a band beating big drums and blowing horns very discordantly, at the same time performing very grotesque antics.

“Next to these came the chief himself with his pipe and beer-vessel bearers (these are indispensable), followed by about fifty armed men and more than a hundred other natives, many clothed in cotton cloth, other in bark cloth, and some in nature's garb. The whole party drew up in front of my tent, and arranged themselves in a semi-circle around the chief and myself, who were seated opposite each other in the centre. I would rather not enter into particulars as to the effluvia emitted by this assembly, the people being anointed from head to foot with butter.

“The first moments were passed in taking stock of each other. He had never yet seen a white man, and therefore

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intently examined the details of my dress, etc. I myself inspected this tall dirty negro, and thought of our future relations.

"The subsequent conversation turned on my intentions as to remaining here or otherwise, the condition of affairs in Uganda, and the pilfering raids of which the Waganda were guilty. I was then requested to select next day a site where I wished to erect huts, he promising that the negroes would supply me with timber, bast and grass, and would also build the huts if I desired it. We were soon on good terms, and, before my interview terminated at sunset, I had obtained from him quite a collection of valuable notes as to population, cultivation, nature of the land, etc.

"Since then he has been here twice. His village is only half an hour's journey from here. I have not yet been able, for want of time, to return his visit. My camp is now full of people every day, bringing provisions for sale—green bananas (grain is not to be had here, hence no bread), beans, colocasia, fowls, eggs, geese, milk, rancid butter; in short, all that we require. However, there is no salt here, but I will get some from Nkole. Yesterday, boats came from Uganda (six days' journey) with letters for me. King Mwanga wishes me to visit him. But the Anglo-German conventions do not admit of my doing so. I therefore propose to send the men back with some presents. Mwanga cannot bear the English, and I expect some day there will be a crash between them. I am now awaiting a hundred boats promised me from Uganda, and shall then either proceed across the lake myself to Bukumbi, or send people to fetch our things. Men have just come in telling us that Dr. Stuhlmann is in Ihangiro, only two or three days' journey from here, so I may now be at ease. I have already sent messengers to Karagwe and Nkole, where the people know me, and requested them to send men to negotiate with me. I wish you could see our establishment—not early, when all looks a sombre grey, because we have a thunderstorm here every morning, and as a rule a temperature of 15° C., but when the sun is smiling, and the men are singing and working, while the dirty natives are going about with their everlasting beer-pots, and the daughters

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of the country are bringing provisions for sale, clothed in the garb of innocence, and anointed with rancid butter. But after all I am unjust. The people simply dress as they are accustomed to.

“BUKOKA, 15th November, 1890.

“Before I finished this long-winded letter yesterday the mail arrived from Bukumbi, and among a heap of worthless epistles I found your welcome letter of the 4th of August enclosing the photos of the two girls. Many thanks for this kind attention. I am exceedingly busy with the establishment of the new station here which I have requested His Majesty to supply with a name. A pretty garden has been laid out, all sorts of trees and vegetables planted (good coffee grows here), but I am out of many seeds I should like to have, and I intend writing to some German horticulturists asking them to assist me with flower seed, vegetable seed and fruit and other trees. Doubtless Dr. Schweinfurth will attend to this.

“To-day about noon the party travelling by land arrived here safely under Dr. Stuhlmann's leadership, after having had some sharp fighting in Bukome, where some men were wounded and two killed. Sergeant Kühne (a native of Beuthen, in Upper Silesia) is said to have behaved most gallantly, and I have recommended him for special distinction. Now I have a plentiful supply of men, and can push on with my work more quickly. I am very anxious to get on rapidly, as otherwise they may imagine in Germany, where they know nothing of the conditions here, that we are wasting time and money.

“At the time Stuhlmann arrived I received a voluminous mail, which unfortunately I cannot reply to because my stock of envelopes is completely exhausted (I have still a few sheets of note-paper), and, notwithstanding repeated requests, my friends at the coast have not yet sent me any fresh supplies. I am all the more sorry for this just now as I have received a few letters which I should have liked to reply to at once, among others some from Silesia, one from the editor of the *Breslauer General-Anzeiger*, and one from the old ‘Arminia’ [this reply has already been given in an earlier chapter.—*German*

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Editor's note], etc. My complaint as to the lack of stationery may seem ridiculous to you, as you have only to send round the corner for some, but we are not as far advanced as that here. I have also heard from Arthur; you would greatly oblige me by telling him some of the news in my letter to you, and asking him to excuse me if I postpone replying to him by this mail.

“Friend Schweinfurth, who plays the part of a kind providence to me, has informed me that the Colonial Association of Berlin will provide me at their expense (just think how generous) with a shorthand writer who is to attend to my correspondence. How glad I should be of one! [The idea emanated from Herr Bokemeyer, who was then general secretary of the German Colonial Association. The shorthand writer, who was despatched in due course, never reached Emin; he remained at Tabora, where the Government claimed his services.—*German Editor's note*.] If you could only see the pile of letters every mail brings me, and to which I have to reply, you would pity me. And if it were worth while! But one half of them are completely futile inquiries or offers. Ever since I was dragged from my seclusion, much against my will, and became something of a celebrity, this deluge of letters has set in. I am certainly much indebted to all my correspondents for their sympathies, but it passes my ability to answer them all at once. And yet I should not like to be thought proud.

“Brockhaus, the publisher, has very kindly sent me Stanley's latest book, which of course is all the more interesting to me because Stanley has judged me in a benevolent spirit. I ask myself what he would have said if he had not written in such a spirit. Lack of time does not permit me at present to reply to the many inaccuracies and distortions of facts; I also prefer to see what Casati, who was with me a long time, and what Junker, who is just finishing his book, will say. I concede to both of them the capacity of more correctly judging the conditions than Stanley, because, at any rate, both of them were enabled by long sojourn in the province to form a competent judgment. I hear that Stanley is married. I wish every happiness to him, and still more so to his wife.

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"Professor Kirchhoff, of Halle, has sent me a critique of the book referred to, very favourably disposed towards me. The *Tägliche Rundschau* of Berlin has also published a long article in my favour. I see that after all there are some who take my part.

"Early yesterday I sent soldiers in hot haste to Bukumbi, as the Wangoni who were dispersed by Lieutenant Langheld are again collecting and threatening Stokes's station at Usongo. At first I intended to avail myself of this opportunity for sending this letter and the photographs, but I prefer to send simply a couple of lines and will finish the letter, which is rather lengthy, at my leisure. When one is called away every minute and has to attend to a hundred and one things, one cannot collect one's mind sufficiently for writing.

"My station is making good progress. I had first to provide temporary quarters for the men. Now we are taking the permanent buildings in hand: stone foundations, store-houses of brick-work, bastions casemated, and provided with parapets. Of course I shall not be able to execute the whole of it, but a commencement is made. The bridges are finished: a nasty job, owing to the numerous crocodiles; the magazine has been commenced, and also the dwellings for the men. When Lieutenant Langheld arrives he can take over his station and finish it, and I shall leave Dr. Stuhlmann with him for a fortnight.

"I myself shall go first of all to Karagwe, and thence, if fortune favours me, to Ruhanda, where no European has ever yet set foot; from there I hope to go south towards the Tanganyika and then home (Bagamoyo).

"Perhaps when I am there you will come and pay me a visit, or Grethe may come and take care of her old half-blind brother. I feel somewhat grieved at the thought that Ferida is not learning anything particular, as instead of learning German she is speaking Kisuaheli. Dr. Brehme was at one time her faithful guardian at Bagamoyo and sometimes sent me news of the girl, but now he has left there. Many thanks for your news about the Neisse folks. Give my best compliments to all who may remember me. I have also heard

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by this mail from the members of my old 'corps'; they have made me an 'Old Member,' thereby affording me infinite pleasure. You wonder what I think of the Anglo-German treaty. Well, one must reckon with facts. It is certainly true that the English have simply taken from us the lion's share of East Africa, and that, if I had had orders to that effect, I should have been in Uganda and Unyoro long ago. But it was not to be, and we must now make the best of the little that has been left to us.

"German trade should first direct its attention to these countries, as it is here that ivory is produced, and moreover, owing to the climatic conditions, they are the healthiest in German East Africa. Therefore we must get a firm footing here, and my new station, to which I shall add two more, will serve as my *pied-à-terre*. If the Emperor will place confidence in me and entrust me with this region, I will do my best; if not, a suitable governor may be sent. I trust that Major von Wissmann will return; I should be very sorry were he to retire. I no longer reckon on Gravenreuth; he has now succeeded to his family estates, and will scarcely be in a position to come back. And if those two are gone, what remains to me? But enough of this idle talk! At any rate, you will be able to gather from all this scribble that I am getting on fairly well. The telegraphic report that I was ill at Ugogo was false. When Monseigneur met us at Irindi, Von Bülow and Langheld were ill; I was not. It suited the English at Zanzibar to report that I was ill, but I trust that I shall not oblige them in that respect. I should like to see you once more, and therefore am anxious to get my sick men safe and sound to the coast. And now you must excuse me. My people are working in the garden and singing songs. I am going to help them. Write soon. God keep you.

"Your brother,

"EMIN."

"DEAR SISTER GRETHE,—

"Many thanks for your long letter of the 3rd of July and the few lines of the 4th of August, which gave me much pleasure. Be a good girl, for I shall need you some day,—I hope before very long. I feel like one who has a charmed

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life and is not to be killed ; among all the men I have been connected with here I am the oldest and yet the most active, and but for the nasty sensation which my fall left behind it, I should now be as active as ever ; but I must make the best of things as they are, and this awfully long epistle I am now writing to try your patience will prove to you that I am still keeping my head above water.

“From the foregoing sheets you will gather all that I could tell you about my travels without absolutely boring you to death. Strange to say, people in Europe imagine that the most wonderful adventures await the African traveller at every step ; that he ought to be attacked, if not actually eaten, by lions at least once a week, and that black negroes with poisoned arrows lurk behind every hedge. Well, believe me, sometimes I feel terribly dull in this sunny land ; and if the weather is damp and cold into the bargain, as it is here to-day, one would certainly much prefer sitting in a comfortable room to being here near this ‘cold’ equator. It is just the same with all other illusions : they vanish one by one.

“We are busily at work making bricks, bricklaying and carpentering to our hearts’ delight ; and if things go on like this, and the men remain as willing as they are now, the new station will be quite presentable within a month. Of course I shall not stay here so long, as it is my lot to be a wanderer, and no sooner do I find some sort of a home in a place than something is sure to crop up to send me elsewhere. But do not look upon this as a complaint ; I am quite content with my lot, and quite willing to emulate the snail in carrying my house on my back. As long as there are any woods and fields to be explored, as long as there is anything left to collect, although Stanley makes fun of it, no adverse comments shall mar the interest I take in Africa. Should you come at any time to pay me a visit, you will no doubt find many things different from what you have been led to expect ; but that is soon got over. I know Melanie’s heart would beat high if she could visit the outskirts of a wood here, and you would no doubt take an interest in all the strange animals. . . .

“To-day I have been sowing strawberries, as I received some seed from the Catholic missionaries at Bukumbi. Un-

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fortunately they had no flowers, as those gentlemen are far too practical to go in for them. It would not be worth while to have seeds sent on except to Bagamoyo, as I do not expect to remain here for ever. As a matter of fact, I envy the gentlemen whose lot it will be to rule here as chiefs of the station and develop the country, assisted from the coast.— Permit me to close now ; I have said all I have to say, and my only object in adding these lines was to thank you for your letter.

With kind love,

“Your brother,

“DR. EMIN.”

While at Bukoba, Emin wrote a letter of thanks to Herr H. Stechmann, manager of the Zoological Gardens at Breslau.

“BUKOKA, 6th November, 1890.

“DEAR SIR,—

“Permit me to thank you for your kindness in sending me your commemorative edition of the *Guide to the Zoological Gardens of Breslau*. The booklet reached me at the moment of leaving Bukumbi, otherwise I should have thanked you before now. At any rate you have given me much pleasure by sending it, because, notwithstanding many years' absence, I still take a sincere interest in all that concerns Silesia, and Breslau in particular. Though, no doubt, every one is attached to his native place, we Silesians in particular have a special corner of our heart reserved for this sentiment.

“I regret that the great distance from here to the coast precludes the possibility of sending contributions to your collection ; but if I return safely I shall try to collect for your gardens. In any case it will be a pleasure for me to meet as far as possible any special wishes that you may express to me in this respect.

“Meanwhile permit me to wish you happiness and success in your work ; may the Zoological Gardens flourish, and under your competent management grow to be a resort for the student, an aid to science, and an ornament to Silesia.

“Once more accept my best thanks, and believe me,

“Yours faithfully,

“DR. EMIN PASHA.”

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It was not until six weeks later that Emin wrote again to his sister, still from the new station he had hoped to leave long before this date :—

“BUKOBÁ, 18th December, 1890.

“It is really not my fault that several mails have intervened without there being any letters from me ; if it were in my power to accelerate things, I should do so ; but as it is, we must simply have patience and wait. I expected that Lieutenant Langheld would arrive here about the middle of the month, but it appears he has been detained ; and Dr. Stuhlmann, whom I sent to Sesse to buy boats, by means of which I propose to establish a regular monthly mail connection by way of Bukumbi, Usongo, and Mpwapwa, has not yet returned.

“Hence I am alone, and am trying to make time pass as quickly as possible by industrious work ; but unfortunately I do not make much progress. We have showers daily from early morn until about 1 or 2 p.m., and unless I have our brickwork, now in course of erection, covered over most carefully, the rain will wash away one day the work of the day before. As no lime is to be had here, we have to make our mortar simply of loam and chopped straw, and this does not withstand the rain well. Moreover, it is so cold, at least to me whom am used to warmth, that I frequently regret not having brought a thick overcoat with me from the coast. Christmas will in all probability be wretched enough, unless Stokes or Langheld should arrive.

“However, I have been lucky at this station as regards visits. First Monseigneur Hirth, the French bishop, came and stayed with me as a guest for several days. He was in bad health, and wished me to treat him. Soon after his departure, Mr. Gedge, the agent of the Imperial British East Africa Company, came and remained some days. I should have been glad to keep him here over Christmas, as he is a dear, capital fellow, but it would not do, and although he has promised me to come on New Year's day, I fear he will not be able to do so. He has promised me some photographs for you, which Stuhlmann will send on to me. Yesterday the

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new English bishop arrived with his retinue, but remained only one day, as he wishes to be in Uganda at Christmas. I am very glad now, that I have learnt a few languages, and can talk to each one in his own tongue. You should only hear me here with the natives ; you would be greatly amused. I am already itching to get away, for I have been here nearly two months now, and that is quite long enough to get fully acquainted with such a narrowly confined district. As regards collecting, there is not much to be done here, as the fringe of wood along the lake is not extensive enough, and the treeless savannah affords nothing to the collector. I have got together a large collection of birds for Berlin, and some good things for friend Hartlaub, as well as for my colleagues in London, and am now expecting Mr. Stokes, in order to hand everything over to him. I have also collected all kinds of other strange animals, which I propose to send to Berlin. But it would be contrary to truth for me to say that I am content with my collections, because I lack novelties. Yet it is difficult, when one has collected as much as I have, to find much that is new ; nevertheless, I hope that further on in the interior I shall come across something hitherto unknown to us.

“So far the messengers I sent to Karagwe and Nkole have not returned, although men who come from there tell me the respective rulers have received my men well and given them presents. It is most annoying that every one of these small potentates imagines it due to his dignity to protract matters and keep people waiting for him. I hope the men will soon come back, and then I shall be off.

“By way of a plaything, I have a little monkey here, which has got so accustomed to me that he cries when I leave him. I have also a couple of grey parrots and some other animals, including a young boa constrictor, and several young crocodiles, about one foot long, which share my abode and creep about in every corner. I am very fond of them, and try to get as many as possible, but unfortunately shall be compelled to leave everything behind me when I go away. But as Lieutenant Langheld takes great interest in zoology, the animals will at least remain in good hands.

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" 24th December, 1890.

" Another Christmas eve in the interior of Africa. I had hoped that I should have at least one visitor here, but it was not to be. A long time back I wrote to Herr von St. Paul and asked him to send me some things specially for Christmas, because I wished to give something to the commissioned and non-commissioned officers. With his usual kindness he at once forwarded cigars, tobacco, champagne, etc., and they are now lying in Bukumbi awaiting a boat to bring them here. Well, the officers are away, and as I have two boxes of cigars here which I brought with me to provide against all emergencies, I shall give them to the two sergeants, and in that way I shall be able to manage. We propose to get up a Christmas tree this year, but for whom? Last year I was lying in the hospital, and there we had a Christmas tree with tapers and all appurtenances in my room, and Ferida came and was delighted at the tapers and the presents, and Wissmann too came in and visited me. I really miss the child very much.

" Besides, it seems as if something is looming over me, like a presage of a great misfortune, and notwithstanding strenuous work I cannot get rid of this sentiment. Tomorrow my people have a day of rest. They are not a bad lot, although they require a firm hand to hold them in check; but they work with a good will, and whatever has been accomplished during this month and a half in spite of continual rain, we have only the good will of the men to thank for. I am lucky in being able to deal with the negroes in all friendship and concord, although sometimes I have to resort to my riding whip, and then I make no sparing use of it. But these are scarcely thoughts for a Christmas eve.

" It is getting rather late. The sergeants, happy at the cigars and wine I have given them, have surprised me with a kind of dinner. Various joints and meat dishes, bananas prepared in several ways, rice and ripe bananas, and coffee grown here, form the *menu*, and if I had only been in a less gloomy mood I should have enjoyed it very much. One cannot always expect dainties. How nice it would have been if I had only had a certain guest!

AT BUKOBA

“To-morrow I will take advantage of the leisure, and take a trip across to the island in our harbour to see whether I can find any birds’ nests and eggs ; everybody asks me for these. Perhaps I may at the same time manage to shoot a bird or two, or bag a few guinea-fowls for our dinner table. At the same time I shall botanise a little, so as to make the most of my time. We have already sent ‘quite a pile of hay’ to Schweinfurth, but he is still asking for more. I often think of my dear old master, Herr Mutke, who really was the first to awaken my inclination for natural history, and who no doubt would have been pleased to learn that his pupil had not disgraced him. How many are there left at the College, I wonder, of those who were there in my school days ? Probably not a single one. I feel quite ashamed when I see in the list of old members which the ‘Arminia’ of Breslau sent me, that all my former fellow-students are now officiating as pastors, professors, Government councillors, and other big-wigs, and have become useful citizens of the State, while I alone still roam through the world like a regular gipsy, without hearth or home. . . . But I must not complain ; every man must run the race prescribed for him, and that mine has turned out erratic and foolish cannot be helped. It cannot last much longer, at any rate. Let us therefore try to be as useful as possible while we may, and utilise the remaining time in the interests of science,—*voilà tout !*”

“27th December, 1890.

“This perpetual rain is enough to drive one mad ; day by day it is pattering down as if a new lake was to be formed, and I cannot get on with my building. I daresay at the coast they will think we are lazy, but I wish they would come here and have a try at it. Yesterday I was surprised by the arrival of a large body of Waganda, who brought me letters from their ‘minister’ Pakipo. He sends me some pieces of bark cloth and a pretty lion’s skin in remembrance of the time when he, quite a lad, received presents from me in Uganda. Well, he has not overtaxed himself with his presents, and I should have preferred to have bought them, as in that case they would have cost me less.

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"I will wait till New Year's day, and, if I feel I can safely leave the station here to itself, I shall proceed with a few men, going first to Karagwe, where I have already been invited, However, it is not impossible that the events in Uganda will render intervention on my part imperative, but I hope it will not come to that.

"Every night I see large bats coming from the island ; I should like to know what species they belong to, as there are several interesting varieties here. I cannot remember having seen any similar ones except on the western bank of the Albert Lake in Monbuttu, but they were not so large. On Christmas day I had at least one reminder of my old home, viz., a plateful of blackberries, newly gathered.

" 28th December, 1890.

"I have been deep in politics since yesterday. It appears that things look very black in Uganda, and if the English do not wish to clear out of it there will be nothing left for them but to apply to me for help. I am the only one in whom the Waganda have confidence, and it would really be a pleasure to me to intervene there, which of course I am not permitted to do unless I am asked. I hope I shall be successful. My friend Mr. Gedge will probably write during the next few days. I have some fifty Waganda here on a visit, and have to feed the whole company ; and although they only get meat and bananas, these cost something, and I am not very well provided myself. I hope I shall obtain a few curiosities from them.

" 29th December, 1890.

"We had a violent thunderstorm during the night. I am always in a state of excitement lest the lightning should strike one of the magazines and destroy my ammunition. The roof of the newly-built house was damaged in consequence of the pouring rain ; a cross-beam snapped, and so we have enough to do to-day. Nevertheless, I may celebrate this day as a day of special rejoicing, because I have to-day found and collected a hitherto unknown species of mammal (*hyrax*). I am having the garden cleared by some of the men ; this has to be done every three or four days, or the weeds would choke the plants.

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This morning I planted some fifty coffee-trees ; in the afternoon some oil palms are to follow. Some peas—a good variety, which I have received from Karagwe—are also to be planted to-day. It is a pity that I have no flowers whatever ; none were to be had in Bagamoyo. I believe pansies would do well here.

“ *1st of January, 1891.*

“ A Happy New Year to you !

“ To-morrow morning the boats will leave for Bukumbi, but I must really close this never-ending letter at last. My messengers returned yesterday from Karagwe and brought me an invitation ; I shall therefore start immediately on Stuhlmann's or Langheld's arrival, and probably I shall write you my next letter from there. It is very pretty here, but I am beginning to feel it too small for me.

“ Very early this morning my two sergeants decorated my door with garlands and wrote over it ‘ A Happy New Year.’ I hope that the new year will realise their wish. I am momentarily awaiting a message from Uganda, and shall probably have to exert myself to the utmost to establish order there and protect the Europeans,—a rather thankless task. Here too a number of complications between the various local chiefs have to be adjusted, and some lessons in good manners have to be given to the people. So I have enough to do, and cannot complain of want of occupation.

“ Write soon and tell me whether you require anything, and think of Ferida if anything should happen to me. Give my love to Grethe and the girls.

“ With kindest love,

“ Your brother,

“ DR. EMIN.”

“ BUKOBA, *8th January, 1891.*

“ Owing to the fact that a number of Waganda boats are going to Bukumbi to convey to Uganda the missionaries who have arrived there, I have an opportunity of sending you a few lines. . . .

“ I shall immediately build a small station at Karagwe, which I shall place in charge of one of the sergeants, and as

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soon as Stuhlmann has returned from Uganda and joined me, I shall proceed to the west into unknown regions. As a matter of fact, I have not been able to accomplish much here. The continual torrential rains do not permit any profitable work. My bridges were carried away, and I had to build them anew.

"It is delightful to see how everything is progressing. I have now had a large quantity of coffee planted, and it is thriving very well here. Sugar-cane too is growing well, and most of the potatoes I brought with me are already in full bloom. I received some peas from Karagwe; I planted them, and they are already promising well. Wheat proved a failure.

"The place swarms with all sizes of snakes, up to about three yards in length, and there are some pretty earthworms nearly four feet in length and of corresponding thickness, which look like snakes. I am again despatching six cases to-day to the Berlin Museum. I hope they will be pleased with them.

"I have not had any mail for some time past, and do not know therefore what has happened at the coast; whether Wissmann has returned or has been replaced by any new Governor, or what other changes may or may not have occurred. As soon as I hear anything, and thereupon arrive at some definite resolution concerning myself, I shall write at once. Should the Government service suit me no longer, I have other prospects in view. Annexed is an extract from the *Silesian Gazette*, which has greatly amused me. I have never in all my life had thirty servants. I have had ten, including the wives of my men. And now I remain, with a thousand good wishes,

"Your brother,

"DR. EMIN."

"11th January, 1891.

". . . The Leipzig Geographical Society has made me an honorary member, and sent me a present of a splendid writing-case of old Russian leather (which I have long been wishing for).

"Once more a thousand thanks and kind love."

AT BUKOBA

“BUKOBÄ, 17th January, 1891.

“Still here ! Stuhlmann is detained in Uganda, and cannot get away unless I send him boats. Langheld is still fighting the Wagoni, that is to say, he is marching after them and they are running away before him, and your brother is practising the art of a master-bricklayer, and would like to get away but cannot. . . . I wrote you that Stokes’s boat had arrived and brought me a mail. He returned immediately and took away a couple of lines for you. Since then I have had letters from Uganda, and to-morrow morning boats will leave for Bukumbi to fetch the missionaries for Uganda. . . . Should the Frenchmen arrive and bring some paper with them, I will send you a photo of this place. It looks very pretty now with all the neat roadways, gardens, dragon-trees, and *polypodies* ; and if the new chief of the station is fairly well supported from the coast, I have no doubt that the place will develop nicely. I am on very good terms with the surrounding negro chiefs and tribes, and receive more visits from them than is good for my exchequer ; but one must put up with that, and I should not like to lose my reputation for hospitality. True, I have received some presents from them, such as durrah, flour, earthnuts, bananas, goats, cows, and sometimes a miserably small piece of ivory, but as a rule they expect about three times the value in presents in return. Unselfishness is not a virtue possessed by the negroes, and it is not only civilised people that are greedy.

“ But these people are really amusing ! A negro chief who knew me in former times sent me, a short time ago, three men who brought his compliments but came absolutely empty-handed, and requested me, in remembrance of our old acquaintance, to send him a breech-loader with ammunition, a few pieces of linen, and a sunshade. He really must think me very green ! My friend Mwanga sent word to tell me, at the very outset, that I was not to expect any presents from him, because he had nothing himself. Of course, for this very reason, and because he often called on me in the days of his father Mtesa, when a little boy, while I was in Uganda, I looked up all sorts of odds and ends from my cases and sent them to him. I have received some trifles from Uganda,

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which I shall send you by next mail. Some other things I have already sent to Herr von St. Paul, with a request to have them forwarded to the Silesian Museum for Antiquities at Breslau. I am still a Silesian after all.

"Thank God, people are gradually ceasing to pester me with all those useless offers of services, requests for employment and the like, etc. I do not wish to be uncivil, but people are apt to make one so. I may add that I am now in the enviable position of being without any notepaper, and therefore unable, however willing, to reply to my numerous correspondents. But for the fact that the French bishop when passing here very kindly gave me a few sheets, I should not even be able to write to you. This is another of those things which can happen nowhere except in Africa, more especially if our friends at the coast fail us. Since Dr. Brehme left Bagamoyo I have no one there who thinks of me, except perhaps the gentlemen of the French mission, Père Etienne and Père Oscar. I hope that one of my numerous letters will reach Messrs. Hansing, and that they will take pity on me and send me what I require.

"19th January, 1891.

"I must after all enjoy some reputation as a doctor, because a patient has just been sent to me for treatment from Uganda. I fear I shall not gain much credit by him, as it is a case of old constitutional disorder, for combatting which the medicines at my disposal are not sufficient. In fact, I have a fairly large medical practice, and my people have great confidence in me, which of course does much more good than all my medicines; I have always been very successful with minor operations, such as tying blood-vessels, extraction of bullets, etc., and I have only lost two of my soldiers, one by dysentery and the other by a shot right through the chest. However, among the porters some deaths have occurred, mostly from fever. But on the whole we cannot complain, and the dreaded 'Interior of Africa' has hitherto dealt very gently with us. Above me the thunder is rolling in every key, and the rain is pouring down as if there were to be another flood. My men are sitting shivering in their huts (so am I for that matter), consequently I

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can afford a quarter of an hour to myself. But I am only waiting for the rain to cease or pause for a while in order to plant some maize I received yesterday. I think the station will probably have to depend for flour on the cultivation of maize, wheat, or perhaps still better, rye. Durrah flour is unsuitable for baking bread because it is not cohesive, and hence we have to do without bread at present. I am making shift with green bananas roasted in hot ashes; these are fairly palatable.

"I may mention that my appetite is better now that I have one of my old servants to cook for me. This is quite a strange story. When I came to the coast with Stanley I had among my people a servant named Saïd, who at one time was always my cook while I was on my travels. He was accompanied by his wife, Saïda, but when we left Karagwe and came to Ukome he fell so seriously ill that I had to leave him and his wife behind. When Dr. Stuhlmann was recently marching round the lake, I requested him to make inquiries in Ukome as to the people who were left behind there, and when he arrived here he brought with him eight persons, including two soldiers and a lad who belonged to me, together with Saïda. Saïd, her husband, had died soon after my departure. Such is the history of my present cook.

"Some of our people were also left in Karagwe and Nkole owing to sickness, but I learn that except a few women they nearly all died. My people brought with them so many women from Tabora that the whole camp swarms with them, and frequently enough I have to interfere to settle disputes arising on account of them. It is quite a puzzle to me where all this company has really come from. In Africa, where women are looked upon as an investment or stock yielding interest, one would scarcely expect there would be so many of them without owners. I cannot really believe that all this host have obtained permission from their respective masters to accompany my people; but as in Africa, more than elsewhere, one should keep to the motto, 'Do not meddle with things that do not concern you,' I will shut my eyes; after all, these women are good enough to carry stones and mortar for my buildings. Indeed, I prefer that my men should have

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their own wives with them rather than tamper with the native beauties and embroil me in all sorts of mischief.

"20th January, 1891.

"I am reading in the *Post* an account of Dr. Peters' triumphal progress through Germany, and am pleased to hear that he has found well-merited recognition. Unfortunately I spent too little time in his company to be able to show him how deeply I feel indebted to him and his companions; I rejoice all the more to find that he is meeting such well-merited acknowledgment at home. He is a man whose intelligence and power of will must compel homage, and I would be the first (well knowing how great were the difficulties he had to overcome) to give him my unqualified admiration. Von Tiedemann, his companion, is likewise an exceedingly capable and at the same time very amiable and unpretentious man. I hope that Peters will succeed, as the newspapers suggest, in finding an appointment suited to his capabilities and wishes in the East African Administration.

"By way of curiosity, I may further mention that I have also seen a report to the effect that it is rumoured in Zanzibar that I am going into the interior to establish a kingdom of my own. How clever these people are!

"To-day an embassy consisting of forty men arrived from the King of Nkole, inviting me to go and assist him against his enemies. A cattle plague has been decimating his livestock, and now he insists that his neighbours have bewitched his cattle, and desires to avenge himself. However favourable this opportunity might otherwise be for me to intervene in the affairs of those regions, I regret to have to decline. Nevertheless, I shall do my best to get away the people I had to leave there in Stanley's time owing to sickness. A little girl out of this number has come with the envoys.

"I really wish Stuhlmann would soon return from Uganda. I am beginning to feel rather cramped here. Ten days ago Stokes's boat left for Bukumbi, and I am expecting him back in about five days.

"22nd January, 1891.

"At last something pleasant! Last night an embassy

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arrived from the King of Nkole bringing two very large elephant's tusks and some salt from Usongoro as a present, and also a girl who had been left there from our former expedition. She belongs to the dwarf tribe of the Akka of Monbuttu. Hitherto all attempts at bringing such a dwarf to the coast have failed, so I am glad to have her here. She is an adult, measures one metre three centimetres, and is of a light coffee colour. An evil star seems to haunt these dwarfs. Schweinfurth's Akka died at Berber; Casati's, mine, and Parke's, etc., on the way; Miani's two only got to Verona, where one is still living in Count Miniscalchi's house. I hope I shall be able to send this one to the coast and on to Europe. She recognised me at once, and is now chattering to me in Monbuttu, of which I understand a few words; she has forgotten her Arabic.

"25th January, 1891.

"Stuhlmann arrived to-day from Uganda, where things appear to be in a very bad way. He has brought me as a present from the King a pretty boat with thirteen seats and a handsome small collection of birds and rodents. I am now sending ten cases containing collections to Berlin, in addition to which heaps of plants are being sent to Schweinfurth, and quantities of ethnographical objects to Bastion, etc. The gentlemen shall see that the Emin Pasha Expedition can do something more than roam about the country. We are all of us as busy as possible endeavouring to please the Berlin folks, and I trust we shall succeed.

"28th January, 1891.

"'That my house may be full!' The day before yesterday, about noon, Stokes's boat arrived, accompanied by twelve boats which I had sent to the south to fetch the soldiers. These also brought Lieutenant Langheld, Mr. Stokes, and all my men, so that now, after five months, the expedition is once more assembled. At the same time I received a large mail, including your letters of the 5th of October, as well as your dear presents—a sort of second Christmas. Many thanks, and also thank the two girls on behalf of their old uncle.

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"All your letters have hitherto reached me regularly, and I can only wonder that some of mine do not appear to have arrived. So far I am very well pleased with the progress of the expedition. Not only have we been able to come to a tolerably good understanding with the Arabs in Tabora and Ujiji, thus saving much money and bloodshed; not only has Lieutenant Langheld completely annihilated the predatory Wangoni, so that all Unyamwesi is now living in peace, but I have also been in a position to send ivory to the value of several thousand marks to the coast. If we add to this the great moral influence we have gained, and which is gaining us friends on all hands, I think that Wissmann and the Government may be very well satisfied. Wissmann has now arrived at the coast, and I hope I shall soon hear news. According to the last communications received, the coastland district is to be placed in charge of Von Soden as a separate province, while Wissmann will take charge of the lake province. I do not quite see what task will then fall to my share; perhaps it will be with me as with the Moor in Schiller's play: 'the Moor has done his duty, the Moor may go.' But I will not meet trouble beforehand.

"I rejoice again and again when I look at your presents, which shall accompany me on all my travels, and be buried with me. Oh, if you only knew what pleasure a little piece of needlework like this or anything which contributes to one's comfort gives one, especially in these regions!

"We have celebrated the Emperor's birthday right merrily. A decorated dining-room, flags, grand dinner with champagne, and speeches (Stokes was our guest), parade, dancing, etc. . . .

"Shall I ever manage to write a book? And how would it turn out? I shall write to N—— from Karagwe, for at present I have enough to do to drive me mad. Yesterday I handed over the station to Lieutenant Langheld, and to-day I am packing and getting ready for a start.

"I am pleased to hear that Junker has sent the pictures, and that they please you. I am getting on tolerably well, I will not say quite well, because I am old enough to make room for younger men. But I shall manage for a while yet.

AT BUKOBA

"You say you would like to see the vegetation here? I should like to see the old lime trees at Rochus again.

"You may gather some idea of this place from the list of live animals I kept here and handed over to Lieutenant Langheld, all alive; viz., two grey parrots, one monkey, a crowned crane, a tree hyrax, a hooded crow, two guinea-fowls, and a boa constrictor.

"The boats are to leave to-morrow morning.

"And now God keep you! You really cannot complain that I am a lazy correspondent. Write to me regularly, and be assured that I shall do likewise as often as I can.

"With kind love,

"Your brother,

"EMIN."

Before Emin left Bukoba he also addressed a few lines to his daughter Ferida and her nurse. He wrote to them on February 4th:—

"TO MY BELOVED FERIDA AND DAME FATUME HANUM,—

"After greetings and inquiry after your health, it is my desire that you should send me a letter by every mail, giving me news as to your health and well-being, and that you inform me as to the state of affairs, your circumstances, and your requirements. I shall also reply to you by every mail. And on our part Schukri Aga and Surur Adam, who are well, send you greetings. Saida is now our cook, and the girl Tikitiki, who belongs to Hawash Effendi, is also here. In two days we shall start for Karagwe. And it is my most ardent hope that this letter shall take my greetings to my child.

"EMIN."

On the 12th of February Emin started with Dr. Stuhlmann for Karagwe, while Lieutenant Langheld with thirty-four men remained behind at the newly-established station of Bukoba. Emin intended to establish friendly relations with the King of Karagwe, and then advance through Ruanda towards the Tanganyika,—which plan, however, was subsequently upset.

Chapter XXXII

EMIN'S RELATIONS TOWARDS THE GERMAN EMPIRE

WHEN Major von Wissmann returned from his leave of absence to Bagamoyo, he there found a letter, dated the 29th of October, 1890, from Stokes, the ivory merchant, whom, as the reader will remember, Emin had seen before his departure from Busisi. In this letter Stokes found fault with everything that Emin had done, saying that Emin had completely upset all his plans, and that he (Stokes) was therefore compelled to "tender his resignation by this mail." He had wished to do a kindness to his dear friend, Major von Wissmann, but he had not come "to coquette with Arabs and Turks." At the same time, Stokes managed to saddle Emin with the fault of a small reverse,—long since made good,—in advancing against the Wangoni, whose expulsion, however, Stokes himself was constrained to admit was necessary. On the strength of the reports rendered to him as to the course taken by the expedition, Major von Wissmann cabled to the Foreign Office at Berlin :—

"Emin Pasha arrived at the lake after two successful and one unsuccessful engagement with Arabs and Watuta. Emin Pasha disregards every order, and renders Stokes' work difficult. Have recalled Emin Pasha as soon as Lake Station is secured.

"WISSMANN."

Accordingly, on the 6th of December, the Imperial Commissioner sent a letter to Emin, in which he reproved him

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for hoisting the flag at Tabora, and for his proceedings against the Wangoni, and reproached him with having neglected to try to act in concert with Stokes, whose instructions he was acquainted with, and finally required him to return to the coast with all speed, as soon as he had carried out his instructions on all points. These instructions were now defined as follows : establishment of a station on the southern coast of the Victoria Lake, acting in concert with Stokes, negotiating with the chiefs belonging to the German sphere, and securing the caravan route. I may add at once that this letter did not reach Emin until April of the following year, when he was in the extreme north-west of the German Protectorate. This was, in fact, the last mail which ever reached Emin.

Possibly Stokes, from his point of view, had cause to look with some disapproval on Emin's activity in the interior, but he wisely concealed the real cause of his animosity against the Pasha. When Emin was in Busisi, he characterised Stokes' action, in selling to the English the goods which the expedition, assisted by the German Imperial Commissariat, had brought there for him, as contrary to German interests. (As a matter of fact, Mr. Gedge, the agent of the British East Africa Company, was at that time already waiting for Stokes on the lake.) Emin threatened that he would enter a protest against this proceeding before the German Government, and declared that he would claim the goods in the German interest, and purchase them for this purpose. It is evident that this did not suit Stokes' interests. But one reason why he "tendered his resignation" may have been that he saw his hopes in Tabora frustrated ; he intended to establish a station there, but now Emin had anticipated him, and in doing so he did a meritorious service to his country by acquiring, on behalf of the German Empire, this point which Stokes meant to have been the first to occupy.

The reasons which determined Major von Wissmann to recall Emin without having first heard his explanation are not quite clear. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether the hoisting of the German flag in Tabora involved any act of disobedience ; at any rate, the German Deputy-Commissioner

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did not look upon it in this light ; the official documents which we have previously reproduced show this.

Another point which might perhaps be considered an act of disobedience on Emin's part was the establishment of a station on the western instead of on the southern bank of the Victoria Nyanza. But again he found the Deputy-Commissioner's complete approval in leaving the establishment of the station in the latter part to Stokes, as will be seen from his letter of the 30th of August. It is true that the Commissioner, Major von Wissmann, himself did not approve of it, as his letter to Emin, of the 6th of December, testifies. But Emin's selection of the point for the station must be judged in connection with his known programme.

Guided by the leading idea which had given rise to his expedition—viz., "to take possession of the 'Hinterland' to the widest possible extent,"—he believed that he ought, above all, to direct his attention towards the important territory between Uganda and the Tanganyika Lake, and possibly he may have cherished a hope that this part of the East African possessions might subsequently be entrusted to him for administration with discretionary power. He proposed the establishment of three such independent administrative districts in German East Africa; viz., the coastland territory,—including the Kilimanjaro, extending as far as Mpwapwa,—the northern lake district, with a principal station in the north, and Tabora as an intermediate station, and the southern district, extending from the Nyassa towards Lindi and Mikindani. The whole course of his proceedings shows that he was far from entertaining any hankerings after expansion (against which Dr. Schmidt thought fit to caution him in his first letter of the 12th of June), or desiring to extend the boundaries of the northern district beyond Uganda. While at Bukumbi, he received news of disturbances in this country, and of daily fears of a massacre of French missionaries, such as actually took place later on. Emin held himself in readiness to render assistance if required, but took good care not to enter Uganda on that pretext, however tempting the opportunity.

Although he was not yet acquainted with the terms of

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the Anglo-German convention of the 1st of July, 1890 (he had repeatedly asked to be told of them, but it was not until the 7th of September that Dr. Schmidt sent him a copy), Emin considered Uganda to be disputed territory, and hence outside the scope of his mission. On the other hand, he felt convinced that a strong point of support, as near as possible to the frontier, was a particular necessity under the existing circumstances, and it was on this account that he established a station at Bukoba, which place had been reconnoitred and recommended by Dr. Peters. The subsequent course of events justified his views. We have numerous proofs from his own hand showing what plan he intended to pursue after this; viz., to proceed through Ruanda (where no European had ever yet set foot) to the northern extremity of the Tanganyika Lake, and in this way circumscribe and explore the whole north-western boundary of the German territory: a suitable task for him who hoped to administer this country hereafter as its governor.

Hence, up to that period, Emin had endeavoured with great foresight, and with the utmost devotion, and wisely directed energy, to carry out the dominant idea of his mission, and no fault can be found with what he accomplished, although the results might have been better had the authorities more promptly decided to follow his counsels. There can be no question, however, of "disregarding every order," because a man of Emin Pasha's past experience and position, while keeping the principal and general aims in view, might fairly claim the privilege of using his own discretion as regards the details of the execution of the main project in accordance with the requirements of existing circumstances. Probably the idea never entered his mind that the authorities would claim to control his every step from their desks, and expect him to send in an exact and strictly formal report as to every cartridge he fired; and when on the 7th of September, Dr. Schmidt officially reproached him with the inadequacy of the reports sent in,—a man of Emin's standing, who, a short time before, had refused the most brilliant offers on the part of England, simply "to prove his gratitude to the Emperor, who had honoured him," might well be justified in

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saying : " If I get anything more of this kind, I shall have to resign. I have hitherto led the expedition with good results, have done more than I was expected to, have sent you ivory to a large amount, and established stations ; and now, instead of a word of acknowledgment, I receive a reprimand from my superior. Is not this enough to make one angry ? " When writing to this effect (on the 4th December), he already foresaw his speedy recall ; he felt that he would have to give way before the spirit which was now prevalent in the offices of the Imperial Commissariat. And now let us look at the other side. This very man to whom the Deputy Imperial Commissioner wrote : " I must draw Your Excellency's attention to the fact that you are under an official obligation to supply such reports," and to whom, by the bye, this same Deputy Commissioner did not communicate the Anglo-German convention until too late, never even received an intimation as to whether and on what terms he was appointed by the Empire. Even when at Bukoba he wrote : " I am still to this day in the remarkable position of leading a German expedition without knowing whether I hold an official appointment at all, and whether or not I am to draw any salary. I have never had a word or line on this subject, and, wishing to show my gratitude for Major von Wissmann's kindness, I started on the journey without raising any difficulties. This is a most comical position, and my English friends would think me mad if they heard of it." We now know that, although at a later date the order confirming his appointment was sent on to him, it came back unopened, because it never reached him. Hence, as a matter of fact, Emin never was in the German State service, for he never received notice of his appointment. This should be well borne in mind in judging of his subsequent enterprises.

I may mention here that the press reports as to uncordial relations between Emin Pasha and Major von Wissmann are thoroughly unjustified, as is proved, in fact, by the numerous letters in which Emin alludes to the Imperial Commissioner. There can only be a question of divergent views as to purely official conditions and relations ; their personal friendship and mutual esteem was never disturbed. A proof of this

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may be found in the official notice directed to Emin by the Imperial Chancellor, as regards his subsequent employment in the Imperial service, and which, no doubt, was due in some measure to Major von Wissmann's influence ; however, as it happened, this official document did not reach Emin any more than the one notifying his appointment. Let us now follow up the further development of events subsequent to the handing over of the new station of Bukoba to Lieutenant Langheld.

The expedition left Bukoba station on the 12th of February, 1891, and at first proceeded nearly due west. Almost at the very outset, a new lake called Ikimba was discovered. After this, their way lay a little more towards the north-west, as far as Kitunguru, whence Emin turned due south.

While Emin was camping near Bugenne on the 21st of February, a messenger arrived from Bukoba, from Langheld. He reported that Mutatembwa was obstreperous and refused to submit to German authority, and that the Waganda were likely to attack him, and asked for reinforcements. Emin sent him sixty-eight men as a reinforcement in addition to the thirty-four he had left behind, but at the same time wrote in his diary : " I will abstain from any comment ; I managed to stay there three months with twenty-five men."

On the 24th of February the expedition reached Kafuro, which place Emin had touched on his journey with Stanley from the Albert Edward Nyanza to the Victoria Nyanza. The residence of King Ndagara of Karagwe was situated in close proximity to this place. The reception accorded to Emin by the King was not very promising. He was given to understand that there was a famine in the country, which could only be aggravated by the sojourn of the expedition. But Emin was unable to comply with the request that he should speedily continue his journey, because he had to await the arrival of porters who were following with supplies of provisions, etc., from Bukoba. The expedition remained for some length of time at Kafuro, suffering great privations. We read in Emin's diary :—

" *1st March (Sunday).*—Mail from Bukoba ; of course lamentations ; I believe, however, they were written before the

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soldiers arrived there. Letters from Uganda; invitation from Captain Lugard [the Commander of the English-Uganda Expedition.—*German Editor's note*]. Abu Bekr [an Arab who had joined Dr. Stuhlmann in Uganda, and was now to remain in Karagwe with Sergeant Kühne.—*German Editor's note*] and about 130 loads of goods are in Kitangule, where the war-drum is being beaten and whence 81 men have arrived here. I at once sent word to King Ndagara, telling him that if he wished to be friends he was to seal the compact by exchange of blood (in the customary manner); if not, there would be war. I at once commenced to entrench my camp. At night a message came from the King to the effect that he desired our friendship. The compact should be sealed by exchange of blood to-morrow morning by his younger brother."

Emin now despatched fifty porters to Kitangule, followed by a few more supplied by the King, for the purpose of bringing the loads left there to Kafuro; but these porters were unable to bring all at once, and it was necessary to send a second time. When they returned again, accompanied by Abu Bekr, ammunition was found to be wanting. Lieutenant Langheld, who had meanwhile undertaken an expedition against Mutatembwa, had left it in Bukoba, desiring Emin to have it fetched by porters from Kafuro. To this end Emin sent a third party of porters to Bukoba on the 15th of March. Meanwhile the remainder of his men were made to erect a station house within the entrenchments.

During this time King Ndagara repeatedly came over and endeavoured to induce Emin to depart, and for this purpose reported all sorts of troubles with his subordinate chiefs. However, Emin very soon recognised that this was a mere pretext to get him and his men who were to support the King, out of the country. (The King had requested their aid, but now changed his mind owing to the famine.)

While Emin was still awaiting the return of the porters from Bukoba, strange news came from the north. Elephant-hunters from the country of Butumbi south of the Albert Edward Lake told of fighting that had taken place between the natives of Usongoro, the country north of this lake, and

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Turks (Waturki). Emin, who thought that he could perceive in this some action on the part of his old Soudanese men, immediately decided to abandon for the present his original intention of going to the Tanganyika *viâ* Ruanda, and to proceed to the north instead, more especially as news came to hand from other quarters also as to disturbances on the Albert Edward Lake. Dr. Stuhlmann reports that while yet at Bukoba, Emin had written to Major von Wissmann to the effect that if his people were at all within attainable distance he intended to communicate with them and, if circumstances permitted, to proceed with their assistance to the west *viâ* Monbuttu, and if possible with their aid occupy the "Hinterland" of the Cameroons; certainly a grand scheme.

At that time Emin also applied to Captain Lugard, the Commander of the Uganda Expedition, with a view to obtaining from him some definite information with regard to the rumours current as to the events in Uganda. As soon as Emin's letters reached Lugard (which, however, was not until the end of April, so that Emin did not receive the reply until many weeks after), he replied as follows :—

"CAMP IN THE INTERIOR OF UGANDA,
"26th April, 1891.

"HONOURED SIR,—

"I am writing you a few lines privately in order to thank you for your exceedingly kind letter of the 8th of March, and can only express my infinite regret at not having had the good fortune to meet you, but I confidently hope that this pleasure is still in store for me.

"At present my position in Uganda is one of great difficulty, and claims all my attention.

"The hostilities between the two Christian parties are now in a fair way of being settled, and we are on the war-path against the so-called Mohammedan party, which for some time past has made hostile raids into this region under a hostile King, an uncle of Mwanga. I hope I shall be successful in breaking the resistance of the residue of vagabonds, to whom I have already given a promise that if they return to their chiefs and their villages we shall leave them in peace,

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and I hope that then this region will enjoy peace and tranquillity.

"I thank you for your most valuable promise to help me in obtaining the powder to be imported for Uganda. I have felt it my duty to write you an official letter on this matter, and I know that I shall have your kind assistance. I wish you best success in your work, and you will find me always ready to assist you in every way to the best of my power.

"Yours sincerely,

"J. D. LUGARD."

The official letter mentioned by Captain Lugard in the letter just communicated runs as follows :—

"DEAR SIR,—

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your two letters of the 4th and 17th of March, which reached me to-day.

"(1) As regards your visit to Uganda.—In compliance with the King's desire, I transmitted to you his invitation to visit him, this being his private request. Seeing that at the time the country was in such a disturbed condition, I fear you would have enjoyed your visit very little. Personally I very much regret that I had no opportunity to meet you, and I confidently hope that it is a pleasure still in store.

"(2) As regards the disturbances on the part of the Waganda who are about to attack Bukoba.—I am happy to find that you have recognised the complete absurdity of such a story, more especially as regards any intention of the English to assist them with arms and ammunition. At present the whole region is assembled for the purpose of opposing the Mohammedan party, who have made a pilfering raid through the whole Singo territory, and who have a hostile King and desire to capture Uganda and expel the Christians. We are now engaged in combatting this party, and the direction taken by us from Mengo was N.W. and N.N.W., quite the opposite direction to Bukoba. Please attach to such ridiculous reports no more importance than they deserve. It is quite possible that some small raid across the frontier may have given rise to the report. Since all Buddu people and

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chiefs are here, I cannot observe anything of a raid. You may be assured that it is my endeavour to maintain the peace along the Anglo-German frontier, and stop any incursion by all the means at my command. I will only point out to you that I have also heard some reports as to incursions from the German side, but I have not even thought it worth while to write to you about it.

"(3) I have taken note of the appointment of Abu Bekr bin Mohammed as Vali of your station of Karagwe, and thank you most heartily for having instructed him to act towards the English as you would do yourself.

"I have the honour to remain,

"Your Excellency's obedient servant,

"J. D. LUGARD,

"*Captain.*"

Meanwhile Emin had started with the object of attempting to carry out his plan of establishing communication with the "Hinterland" of the Cameroons. He reported very regularly on this part of the expedition to his sister who was then living at Neisse, but who now resides in Berlin, and we may therefore simply follow the account given in these letters.

Chapter XXXIII

GOING NORTH-WEST

"CAMP AT KADJUGA WUSISSI, *22nd March*, 1891.

"**I** TRUST you have received my letters from Kafuro, together with a small parcel I left behind with Dr. Stuhlmann before my departure.

"After I closed my letter, the King inflicted another visit on me, coming to take leave and at the same time wishing to take away with him all he saw. But I was not in a very obliging humour, because, instead of the large number of porters he had promised me, only seventy had turned up, and these had been sent on ahead with their loads; the remainder of the loads was still lying before me in a large pile. I declined his request to stay another day, because one day would have been succeeded by many; in the end he promised to let me have more porters to-day, and received some trifles, but I did not give him my chair, which he desired to have, together with a European suit of clothes and a rifle.

"At night we had a thunderstorm with heavy rain, and enjoyed a farewell dinner, which Dr. Stuhlmann had arranged in most brilliant style. I started this morning at 7.30.

"The caravan was composed of thirty-one men from the coast with two chiefs, carrying my pieces of artillery, ammunition and my luggage, ten Soudanese and two Suaheli soldiers, Makjeva, my old dragoman from my province, two naturalists, a cook and kitchen boy, my three men-servants, lads, and quite a number of wives of the porters, soldiers, etc.,—quite a capable little marching column.

"From Kafuro we proceeded in the first place over the hills, which were now clad in pretty green, back towards

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Njhkigandu, where we camped when we first came here, and crossed the little watercourse, but went on from there on the road to Kjivona, which I had traversed with Stanley. The continual rain has favoured vegetation, and pretty gaily coloured blossoms are now seen everywhere, some exhaling beautiful perfumes, as for instance the carissa and the acacias. Nevertheless, on the whole it is monotonous,—uphill, downhill, and along mountain slopes, over slippery red laterite soil which clings to the boots like lead. Although now and then a banana plantation, clad in fresh green, a small village, a herd of cattle, and wide fields with standing crops introduce some variety into the landscape, the almost complete absence of all trees rather spoils the effect. But in place of trees there are ample thistles of various kinds, which make themselves very unpleasantly perceptible.

“At ten o’clock we met a couple of men from the coast, returning from Nkole, who told us that King Ntale had looted and completely stripped the Butumbi people, and taken away all the ivory from the Wanyamwesi ivory-hunters residing there. Hence it appears that things are rather lively there. Shortly before our arrival here we came across the porters who started yesterday from Kafuro, and whom we found camping. There is not much to be got here; the village is wretched, and nothing can be had for love or money. Considering that this is our first day’s march, we have made fairly good progress; we have been marching three hours twenty-eight minutes. This is enough for to-day; besides, Kakikondyo, the King’s brother, is to meet me here and accompany me as far as the boundary of the country. I understand that to-morrow we shall have only a short march before us,—that is to say, according to native ideas, about one or one and a half hour’s journey.

“CAMP AT KJIVONA, *22nd March*, 1891 (?).

“We started at 6.7 a.m., after having administered a sound beating to one of the porters, who simply left his load lying on the ground and went his way. We crossed the bare crests of the hills and then descended a gentle slope. Here we again saw some trees, viz., acacias with completely flat tops,

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such as are frequently met with in South Africa ; this is a sign that the hills of Karagwe would be capable of producing trees but for the fact that their growth is stopped by fortuitous agencies,—such as being nibbled off by goats, or destroyed by fire, or on account of agriculture ; this ought to be noted for the future. At the present moment Karagwe is only suited for cattle-breeding ; nevertheless, plantations might very well be made, and much corn, wheat, barley, etc., might be grown. Doubtless there is a deep swamp in the valley when the rainy season is at its height, but to-day there was only thick grass and cutting reeds. After passing these, we commenced a rather arduous ascent over small blocks of rock, finally arriving on a plateau. We then crossed a slight depression covered with fragments of rock, and ascended to a second plateau called Busese, where I gave the porters, who were thoroughly out of breath, a quarter of an hour's rest. We are here at an altitude of about 4,500 feet above the level of the sea, that is to say pretty high up, and yet it is not particularly cold up here.

“ We had the pleasure of seeing a rhinoceros in the valley, but we only just caught sight of it and it disappeared immediately. A number of small green parrots with yellow breasts were flitting past overhead. Francolins were calling each other and pairing in all directions, but there was no sign of guinea-fowl. Various kinds of ‘honey-suckers’ (African humming-birds) are very frequent, glittering, like their American compeers, in beautiful metallic colours.

“Descending from this height, we twice sighted the lake which on the maps is marked as ‘Little Windermere’ according to Grant's indications, but which is really called Ruanyana, on our left. After a further steep descent, we pitched our camp between bananas. Here, too, all the people have decamped. Kakikondyo, the King's brother, has just arrived, and will call on me towards night.

“A man coming from Butumbi brings fresh reports of ravages caused by the Nkole in Mpororo and Butumbi. They are said to have carried off women and children, burnt down the huts, cut down the bananas—in short, done all the harm they could and then returned home, though not without

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the loss of a good many of their number. So it appears that I have arrived at an opportune moment; certainly I shall have to interfere sooner or later in the struggle, so as to restore order. I fear that in consequence of the pillages we shall have to put up with short rations. I have at once communicated the news received to Dr. Stuhlmann, and hope that as soon as we are reassembled we shall be quite sufficient to teach the Nkole and, if necessary, the Ruhanda people too, a lesson.

"Meanwhile the rain has once more commenced to pour down, and while I am writing it is rattling on my tent as if about to wash it away. Such a tropical downpour, accompanied by terrific thunder and lightning, the water coming down in torrents, frequently mixed with large hailstones, is something worth seeing. Yet one ought not to be on the march or in the open air while it lasts, for any delicate person (luckily I am not one) who gets drenched will be sure to take fever, if nothing worse. My men have covered over their tents with banana leaves, and some have even built very handsome little huts out of them; in fact, bananas can be utilised for anything. I have collected some very pretty birds here; the weavers and 'widow-birds' are just now donning their bridal dress, as the breeding time is drawing near. Somehow I cannot manage to find any new species this time; perhaps I shall be more fortunate further inland. A pretty chameleon, green with red and black design on the sides, perhaps a new species, is very frequent here. Just before my departure from Kafuro we caught a couple of very pretty dormice,—little animals which I kept in a cage once before; to-day I have captured another here.

"At a late hour towards night the King's brother sent to me to inquire whether all the loads had been got away and whether we could march to-morrow, adding that he was quite close at hand and would go with us to-morrow. My answer may have been a little rude, as no loads had arrived and the 'prince' had simply been lying again. Half an hour later another messenger arrived, asking me not to be angry, as messengers had immediately been sent for the loads and all would soon be here. Another lie.

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"CAMP AT KJIVONA, *24th March*, 1891.

"I was unable to start, because it would not do to have the loads scattered all along the road, and I have not a single bale of cloth here wherewith to pay the men their rations which fall due on the 26th. Unless one prefers to provide food for the men, it is customary to give them, while on the way, a certain quantity of glass beads or cloth, according to the district one is in, and in exchange for these they will obtain provisions from the natives for a week or two at a time. Where things are dear, rations are issued every eight or ten days; where they are cheap, once a fortnight only. The men as a rule will then mess together in small parties, and as negroes generally manage to do with little food (although they can display an incredible appetite if there is plenty), they get on fairly well. Of course, we too are compelled to make all our purchases in this way.

"I have sent men to fetch the loads. The soldiers are drilling, the other men are engaged in cleaning the cases, and I will endeavour to get hold of a few birds. During my absence Kakikondyo sent me a calf, which I shall at once distribute; nor shall he go empty-handed. About sixty porters, who remained behind the day before yesterday, are expected to arrive here about noon, and Kakikondyo proposes that, unless the other loads come in to-day from Kafuro, I should return there to-morrow. This I shall certainly not do, and to show him that I can be otherwise than pleasant, I have given my men permission to go out foraging to-day. Nothing is brought to us for sale, and I must therefore act.

"I have intimated to Kakikondyo that, unless my loads come to hand, I shall let my men forage in his district also.

"I hear that eight bales of cloth are on the way.

"The bird hunt has turned out badly; a 'metal-spotted' pigeon and some black-headed weavers were all that I bagged.

"I have just heard that Dr. Stuhlmann sent several loads of cloth after me, but that the Wanyamwesi porters threw them away in a village near by and left them there; I am at once sending men to fetch them. The seventy-five loads

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which were sent on beforehand have also arrived safely at last. I shall therefore proceed to-morrow.

"CAMP AT KYAMKUMBAGAI, 25th March, 1891.

"I am glad that the march is over.

"From Kafuro to Kjivona we had kept to our old route, but now we entered new regions; no European has ever before set foot here, and I am glad to do pioneer work again.

"Our path leads down the slope of the hills, leaving the Isosi mountains on our left. The torrents of rain yesterday made the ground rather slippery, but eventually we reached the bottom, where the wide plain of Btohssi, covered with short grass, with here and there a few bushes, forms a very broad defile between the hill chains on either side. It is only frequented by Wahuma cowherds with their splendid herds of cattle, but is not inhabited or cultivated, because the people prefer to build their dwellings in the hollows between the hills and on alongside of brooks, as tilling the soil is there less laborious than in the parched plain, where even yesterday no rain appears to have fallen. Here Kakikondyo joined us with about twenty companions. Before us three rhinoceros were peaceably grazing, heedless of the fact that some snow-white 'herons' were disporting themselves on their backs. Luckily we got away without being inconvenienced; the rhinoceros is very often an ugly customer to meet with, whom one is glad, if possible, to avoid. My eyes are now too bad to permit me to hunt such game.

"At 8.15 I saw before me a new lake called Nkonda, rather small and nestling between the hills. At 8.50 we began to ascend the mountains. The narrow red path often led so close to a precipice about 900 feet deep, that to pass safely one needs a good head. We still ascended higher and higher, and when at last we reached the crest, we saw before us, low down amidst the ravines, another lake of fairly considerable dimensions, called Ikirina, which we now commenced to skirt. Its banks twist to and fro like a corkscrew; in its centre there are two pretty islands.

"Sometimes we kept along the heights, sometimes we had

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deep descents and equally steep ascents to manage—and all this in a pouring rain, which set in at 9.20, and was blown into our faces by an icy wind. After a very short time all the roads were converted into torrents, and on the steep tracks men and loads were tumbling over each other on the sticky clay soil. The thunder was rumbling, but there was no regular crash—perhaps the weather was too wet for that!

“We were not long getting settled; and now, after having taken off my soaked garments, I am listening to the patter of the rain on the roof of my tent with greater complacency than before. These are the inevitable adjuncts of travelling in Central Africa. It is only unpleasant as long as you have a dry thread left about you; when once you are thoroughly soaked, you do not mind it so much.

“Gnats—or rather, mosquitoes—are plentiful here, so that some little diversion is provided. In spite of the pouring rain, the spurred cuckoos are calling among the reeds, and very pretty little *estrelæ* are flitting about the grass in front of my tent as if they were waterproof. I am really happy to be once more able to explore virgin soil outside the regions exploited by others, for I am by nature an impassioned collector, as the museums of London, Bremen, Vienna, and now of Berlin, can testify. At present I am writing for the organ of the British Ornithological Society (of which I am a foreign member) an ornithological account of the Albert Lake, and am only awaiting some notes by Dr. Hartlaub on my last collection.

“The village near which we are camping is very small—a regular pastoral village, in which the huts for the cattle (sick, or young beasts) look more presentable than those intended for human habitation. The reason for this is that a good cow is worth more here than a human being, more especially a bull.

“CAMP AT KAGENYE, 26th March, 1898.

“Early in the morning it was horribly cold (13° C.), damp, and misty; and to make matters worse, my clothes and boots had got drenched yesterday, and, in spite of a roaring

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fire, were not yet dry. Then, by way of a climax, I was informed that all the native porters had decamped. Well, I can scarcely wonder at it, considering the wretched weather; but it is annoying, nevertheless. I therefore went to Kakikondyo, who had taken up his quarters at an hour's distance from us, and arranged matters with him satisfactorily. Thirty-three loads were despatched at once, and I entrusted the remainder to the local chief, to be sent on with all speed, and at 9.50 a.m. I went off in the rear of my men. Our road lay through all sorts of bush and undergrowth, and among beautifully-scented acacias, along the side of the lake, which, by the bye, is called Rotkira here. Further on it led along the slope of the mountains at a height of about 180 feet above the sea level. The ground is covered here with very short grass only. Trees are found lower down, where they have more shelter. Last night we suffered much from mosquitoes, and it was no better here to-day: they attacked us in swarms, in broad daylight.

"On the mountain slope many small herds of cattle were grazing, and groups of Wahuma cowherds assembled by the roadside, politely saluting us and staring at the sight never beheld before, viz.—my white donkey and myself. *À chaque seigneur, chaque honneur.*

"The 'lake' in the end turned out to be a very broad, though no doubt shallow, drainage basin for the surrounding hill chains, and was plentifully dotted with small reed islands.

"At 10.52 we descended from the heights towards the huts of Nyakinanya, situated in the midst of large expanses of luxuriant reeds and bananas (where I had gone at an early hour to see Kakikondyo), and we then marched right across the bare plain towards a small banana plantation surrounded by some fields and huts, near which we pitched our camp. We shall await here the arrival of our remaining loads, some of which are already to hand; and to-morrow we hope to reach Kakikondyo's village, where I shall, presumably, stay for one day before proceeding to the Kagera, which is another day's march off.

"This slow progress is maddening; but as it would ex-

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haust my resources to pay for the conveyance of 200 loads or more, I must have patience.

"The people here are very friendly. They at once presented me with ripe bananas and a fowl, and in return I made the women happy with a few glass beads. The village of Kagenye is not large, but the various huts, each inhabited by one household, are widely scattered between fields planted with durrah (now beautifully green), sweet potatoes, beans, gourds, and tobacco. The bananas look rather badly cultivated.

"Towards the south the village borders on the lake, which is here called Niarakomo, but the banks are lined with a broad belt of papyrus and reeds, so that nothing can be seen of the water, and even our drinking water is scooped up from between the reeds, which does not improve its flavour. It passes my comprehension how people can live here, on account of the mosquitoes. On my way to the water I came across a pretty little girl playing by the side of her mother, and tried to make friends with her by offering her a few beads, but it would not do. The unaccustomed sight of my 'white' face (*lucus a non lucendo!* for certainly I am no longer white) frightened her as if it had been the head of the Medusa, and the child never ceased to scream her loudest till I was out of sight.

"The natives tell me that there are many very vicious crocodiles here. Hippopotami are hunted and killed as soon as they come across from the Kagera, consequently they have never gained a footing here. As regards fish, a small, completely black species of shad-fish (shad-fish are very numerous represented in African waters, but all of them, or at least the smaller varieties, have a musty flavour) and a chromis were brought me. The latter shall serve for my supper, as I cannot afford to waste my spirit in preserving it.

"5 *p.m.*—All my loads have now arrived, and I hope that to-morrow morning we shall be able to say good-bye to the mosquitoes.

"CAMP AT KASYA, 28th March, 1891.

"Yesterday morning, at an early hour, we left Kagenye,

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and at once ascended the hills, leaving the swampy lake low down on our left, and had a pleasant march through fairly bushy country. We had now left the mosquitoes behind down below, but instead of these we were pestered by a host of tiny stinging flies, which had a peculiar knack of lodging in parts where they had no business: they crept into the corners of our eyes, into our noses, and under our hats. But to make up for this discomfort we had music, as Kakikondyo came marching along like a triumphant general, headed by a band, and accompanied us. It is strange what a sharp ear the negro has for correct time, while none of them ever manage to master a good tune. But this savage music sounds quite well among these surroundings, and, to crown all, the whole air was loaded with the perfumes of fragrant bushes and herbs—*cariassa*, jessamine, and acacias, with occasionally a gardenia and a small *crucifera*. Before us the chain of hills was undulating; wide green plains were varied by brown flat rocks, in the hollows of which water had collected. Besides thorny bushes and tall acacias, hung with weavers' nests, we frequently saw the grotesque 'candelabra' euphorbias (the *cactaceæ* of Africa), round which small woodpeckers were flitting. Now and then we passed herds of cattle and groups of astonished cowherds. At 8.24, after barely two hours' march, I found my men waiting for me near the village Ruankavongo. They had been told we were to camp here. I protested energetically against this, and simply gave orders to march on. While the men were restarting I had about fifty or sixty people from the village around me, admiring my donkey, and inquiring whether it was a kind of cow or antelope. Poor donkey! And then they asked where I had my cows, and whether I could live without milk; and a sharp lad suggested that I should give up roaming about, get some wives and cows, and settle down for the rest of my life, as I was old enough! No doubt there is some truth in what the lad says!

"Late at night I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from Dr. Stuhlmann; and, apart from the howling of a stray leopard, the night passed quietly. But sleep while on the road can be indulged in at intervals only. Having to get

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However, a heavy shower soon scattered them, and we got home thoroughly soaked. A surprise was awaiting me there. A native who probably had heard of my ornithological fancies, had been catching birds for me unasked, and was awaiting me with two bundles of about forty live birds; of course all belonging to the same species, being so-called 'red-billed' weavers. At any rate he meant well, and received a present, with the request to bring other varieties.

"CAMP AT KAVINGO, ON THE BANKS OF THE

"KAGERA, FERRY FOR MPORORO, *2nd April*, 1891.

"At last I am here, and trust in Providence to help me further. The worry and excitement of the last few days, the consciousness of uselessly wasting valuable time here, the dreadfully wet weather—all combined, have been the cause of my having an attack of fever, which was particularly severe. Such attacks are of rare occurrence with me, and with strict diet—that is to say water and coffee—they usually pass quickly. I never take quinine.

"I had sent word to Kakikondyo to tell him that I should start on the 31st under any circumstances, and if necessary leave all my things behind. At night I received a reply to the effect that porters would come to-morrow, and I was to load them and send them on ahead. As it would be noon before I could get away myself, he advised me not to expose myself to the sun, but to follow at an early hour next morning. Meanwhile, however, another thirty-three loads arrived from Dr. Stuhlmann, and if I remain any longer more will be coming and we shall never get away. Hence I must not hesitate. It is no wonder that we have such a quantity of loads; I have another station to establish and equip for one year, and then the march to the Tanganyika is before me.

"Early on the 31st the weather was rough and dull. At last fifty-five porters turned up, whom I loaded and sent on ahead; the remaining loads, to the number of sixty, I stowed away under an awning which I always make a point of having erected; left one of my men behind as a sentry, and sent a farewell message with my kind regards to Kakikondyo. At 8.40 a.m. I was on the road again. I may safely venture

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to proceed in this way, because I know that I shall receive the goods intact, even after a day or two. To steal the goods of a stranger is considered a shameful act here !

"The country before us, like the whole of Karagwe, was bare ; very rarely a shrub or bush was to be seen, not even the wells or the pits for watering cattle are surrounded by trees. Water, in fact, is rare. The village of Kitembe consisted of some few rather wretched huts. Within the confines of the village I observed a fine rhinoceros skull. Elephants do not exist here. Near the mountain chain of Ruanjanga the country becomes more wooded. I was recommended to take up my quarters for the night at the small village of the same name, which is situated in the midst of durrah, gourd, and bean fields. But I was tired of loitering, and hence, although it was 11.15 a.m. when we got there, I allowed the men only a short rest and commenced the very steep ascent at 11.30. Although the weather was cool and dull, it was hard work, and the riding whip was repeatedly brought into requisition, although I must confess that I myself felt rather shaky from the night before. At 12.24 we reached the summit, where I made a short halt in order to let the men catch breath and recover themselves, and enjoyed the *protea* blooming all around. The altitude here is 3,540 feet.

"At 12.51 we went downhill again ; our intended night quarters were situated in a banana plantation right ahead of us, down below. But the descent was dreadful. First fields and plantations, then bare rock, and the path so steep that sometimes one feared treading on the head of the men in front. At 2.5 this piece of gymnastics was accomplished, and we took up our quarters at the village of Ruavanoka. My legs are still aching to-day.

"Kasova, the local chief, came to promise me porters for to-morrow, but he did not receive a present—I shall wait and see first.

"At 1 a.m., of course the usual subterfuges ; I was to wait until Kakikondyo came, which I refused. Then porters came in one by one, all being Wanyombo (no Wahuma will carry), and after I had loaded them with all the bales of cloth and all the other loads except twelve, I started, telling friend

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Kasova that I held him responsible for the remaining twelve.

"At 7.13 a.m. we were marching along the foot of the mountain; the sun was already scorching hot, the first time for many days past. We now proceeded over very undulating country, more bushy than the parts behind us, and crossed some depressions containing pools of dirty water.

"Near the village of Kirimbiri, and again near the Rutunyu, a swampy pool where *Phoenix* abounded, I was asked by the porters to pitch our camp, because it was still so very far to the river and so very hot. Well, hot enough it was, so that I could almost see my skin getting blacker. (I am now commencing again to assume a proper African colour, and have happily got rid of the yellow complexion I acquired at the hospital.) But I was deaf to all entreaties and proceeded, after a short rest, over parched, whitish-looking ground, which however had a subsoil of red clay. At 11.30 we descended between oddly indented downs, and at 11.37 a.m. found ourselves on a terrace, completely destitute of trees, about twenty yards above the river Kagera, which was rolling its red flood below, between banks lined with reeds and papyrus.

"We camped in the burning sun. I at once put up sheds for my baggage, guns and donkeys, and also erected an awning for myself. Kakikondyo has likewise turned up, and tried to frighten me with the Ruhanda, who, he says, will fight me; but it is of no use, he will not deter me. My men are building huts, and in four days I shall cross the river; in the meantime I expect to get the men for whom I have asked. In front of me are the mountains of Mpororo. But I must have porters, as the Karagwe men refuse to cross the river; in fact, they seem to be very careful, generally, to keep a whole skin. Should I get no men, which is not altogether improbable, I shall have to fall back on my own porters, who have hitherto proved quite reliable. Both the porters from the coast and the Wanyamwesi are efficient, but one must be careful in these regions not to expose them too much to rain and damp. It is a strange thing that negroes, while bearing surgical operations, even of the gravest kind, and bodily injuries, with absolutely admirable stoicism, do not appear to have the least power of resistance to the slightest attacks of

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a feverish nature, and frequently die under one's hands, even before one has time to fully diagnose their condition. True children of nature !

"CAMP AT KAVINGO, 4th April, 1891.

"I have been amply occupied. It is no pleasant task to build huts when one has to search for every piece of wood for miles around. Roofing and walling in is soon effected with the angular papyrus stems. I must certainly have at least a few huts, and shed roofs for the baggage and ammunition, as here again we seem to have brought the rain with us, to the delight of the inhabitants.

"Then I had to negotiate with the people of Mpororo, who are absolute savages and never before came into contact with strangers, besides being in perpetual blood feud with the men of Karagwe. The Queen of Mpororo (who, however, appears to be acknowledged by part of her subjects only) has never been seen by any one, not even by her own subjects. All that they ever get to know of her is a voice heard behind a curtain of bark cloth. Such theatrical practices have gained for her, throughout Karagwe, Nkole, etc., the reputation of a great sorceress, capable of bewitching people and also of benefiting them.

"Of course my first aim was to impress the people favourably, and the negotiations, always very long-winded in the case of negroes, were in this instance more protracted than usual. With much difficulty I had got some men to come across from the other side of the river, and was now trying to gain them over by dint of much patience. In the end I succeeded in making them see that after all it would be better for them to have us for their friends, and that is all I desire for the present ; you must always deal with these savages as you would with shy birds.

"I have thoroughly fallen out with my friend Kakikondyo. He is not a bad fellow, but his stolidity is too much even for my endurance, although I am endowed with almost super-human patience. Hence I rated him soundly to-day (I dare not flog him), and told him that he need not expect presents from any white men that may visit his country hereafter. Of

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course he promised no end of things, but I do not believe him.

"I have paid a visit to the opposite bank and selected a level spot near the river for our camp. I found that wood is almost as scarce over there as on this side, but there are some few trees, and the people seem willing; they had not even hidden their wives and children, as I expected they would. If this is done, it is a sign that they distrust the strangers, and, as a rule, an attack is the sequel. If all, both men and women, make off, you must be on your guard; but I prefer even that to the occasions when they simply hide the women and children.

"The country still looks far from promising, but I am told that it is better further on, where food especially is said to be more abundant. The rain drove us to take shelter in a hut, and we saw indications that Mpororo is a good hunting ground. Antelopes of all kinds and gazelles are abundant; there are also very many zebras (I saw several to-day), wild boars, some buffaloes and elephants. There are no ostriches, giraffes or rhinoceros.

"As soon as the rain ceases, I shall cross the river with my men and prepare a road. I may explain that from the river to the foot of the hill there is a broad marshy foreland with very luxuriant vegetation, notably some very tall ferns; I propose to cut these down and use them for covering the marsh. To-morrow morning I shall commence bringing the baggage across. The boats are dreadfully wretched, and there are only three of them. I think I shall therefore have to make a raft of papyrus.

"KAVINGO, 5th April, 1891.

"Last night I received a mail bringing me letters from Europe, dating from November, but none from you. This was disappointment number one. Then there was a letter from Herr von Wissmann, disapproving of all I have hitherto done, and directing me to hurry on and return to the coast, as great changes are imminent. So this is what it has come to, and I am politely given my *congé*. Well, I do not blame them; they have no more need of me, and there is an end of

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it. If Stuhlmann were here I should go back at once, but unfortunately I must wait. It certainly appears that a mail for us has been lost ; I cannot account in any other way for the absence of any letters from you. Nor is there a line from Bagamoyo concerning Ferida. Poor, poor little thing ! Look after her if I should leave her alone."

Chapter XXXIV

ACROSS THE FRONTIER

"CAMP AT KIVERE, 11th April, 1891.

"I MUST apologise for not having written for some days past (although I thought of you), but I was really incapable of writing, or even working. On the very night I wrote last the news concerning my former men from the Equatorial Province assumed a more definite shape. I heard that they arrived in a northern part of Nkole, on their way to the coast, and are now at Butakka, four or five good days' marches from here.

"Should I now return to the coast without having at least made an attempt to reach them? No! I therefore decided to continue my march, even at the risk of being subsequently tried by court-martial.

"Stuhlmann arrived on the 6th at night, and all preparations were completed. The 7th and 8th were taken up with getting everything across; on the 9th we gave the men a rest; and yesterday morning I started from Kavingo with 119 loads, and at the same time sent messengers to the lake to see my men.

"Early this morning I arrived here, just below Igorore, the residence of Njavingi, pitched camp, and sent the men back to fetch Stuhlmann, who will probably arrive the day after to-morrow.

"I expect my messengers from the lake (Albert Edward Nyanza) will arrive in three or four days and meet me on the way. If I find the men, all will be well; if not, of course I shall have to answer for it. Never mind, I am conscious of having acted to the best of my ability.

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• “Mpororo is a country completely depopulated through the constant filibustering raids of the people from Uganda, Nkole, and Ruhanda. Everywhere there are traces of former villages and cultivation, or a scanty banana plantation or low huts, but no flocks, and, above all, a complete lack of wood ; one can scarcely find a few dry sticks to boil water for a cup of tea. Of course there is great lack of provisions, as, in fact, is the rule everywhere in ‘no man’s land.’

“CAMP AT NERE, 14th April, 1891.

“I called Mpororo a ‘no man’s land,’ but must add, by way of rectifying this statement, that the present ruler is said to be a woman named Njavingi. Consequently I did not at all care about seeing the Queen, especially as this would only have cost me useless presents ; but I required to have guides and messengers to take some letters which I wished to send ahead of me. The negotiations were very wearisome, and time was hanging heavily on my hands, all the more so as the rumours as to the approach of strangers, whom I suspected to be my own people from my old province, were increasing daily. As all negroes love mystery and mystification, I heard all sorts of conflicting statements, which seemed to be put forward for the purpose of inducing me to remain and (as the first councillor of the Queen suggested) to set the country in order, so that Njavingi might rule again. He said that to this end I might pillage wherever I liked, seize people and confiscate cattle. But I declined with thanks, and simply demanded guides, which I received at last.

“I left Stuhlmann behind, with the bulk of the baggage, at Kivere, and started early this morning with all our porters and one half of the soldiers, arriving here about 11 a.m. after a rather fatiguing march. There is a cold, nasty wind.

“From what I have so far seen of Mpororo (we are the first Europeans that have ever entered it), it appears to be of a thoroughly Alpine character, with mountains and hills, precipices and mountain pastures ; now and then, in the recesses of the mountains, a small village surrounded by bean, pea and durrah fields, and occasionally a plantation of bananas clothed in beautiful green. A pasture land *par excellence*, but

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unfortunately laid waste and pillaged by its neighbours to such an extent that it is difficult to obtain any food. I now hope to reach the frontier of Butumbi in three days' marches, and hope that the mystery as to the strangers will be cleared up there.

"This place, otherwise known as Ningambe, lies deep down between mountains which closely abut on one another and fall off steeply all round, and the banana plantations here are more extensive than usual. All the inhabitants fled before us, but I managed to reassure them, and they are now returning. I doubt whether they have anything to sell us; our *menu* has been exceedingly simple for a long time past; not even bananas are to be had. But meat and gourd leaves dressed like spinach are not to be despised, and I still have some tea left. All around the huts there are numerous banana trees, maize, durrah, some tobacco, beans, and castor-oil plants. The oil extracted from the latter is used for anointing the skin and hair. Behind the huts there is a large quantity of tall reeds, a genuine variety of *arundo*; they are used for making the reed walls of the huts, and are now the haunt of some spurred cuckoos, whose notes are heard everywhere. Up on the mountains all was covered with enormously large *echinopodes*, the heads of which are the haunt of gaily-coloured 'spectres,' which will stretch out their long claws towards any one approaching.

"CAMP AT RUHANGA (*residence of Chief Mssoke,*
"who is subject to the King of Nkole,

"15th April, 1891.

"I started this morning at 5.12, at once entering the mountains. The whole of our day's march lay over these and along their slope. Mpororo, as I have said, is a regular mountain district, and its chief industry ought to be cattle-breeding; but unfortunately the herds have been stolen by the rapacious neighbours. In addition to the downs and mountain pastures and wide meadows, without tree or shrub, we now passed large fields, some already tilled and verdant with crops of sorghum, sweet potatoes, and beans, others still in

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• course of tillage, and showing a rich reddish-brown soil cleared of stones and grass.

"Of course the women working in the fields ran away on our approach, but from the numerous homesteads lying deep down in the bottom a number of men came running to enjoy the unaccustomed sight of a donkey, which they called '*strégge*' (zebra). As soon as the donkey made a sideway motion, the whole party, though armed with spears, hastily scattered. The men of Mpororo do not seem to be exactly heroes; this is probably the reason why they are constantly robbed and plundered by their neighbours.

"But there was another new element in the landscape which I could well have dispensed with, viz., broad swamps covered with papyrus, filling the bottom of the valley; black, bad-smelling mud, into which one sinks up to the knee at every step, while mosquitoes and stinging flies abound. Then we came again to a steep mountain-side. We were glad to halt and take a little rest after three hours' march. It was my intention to march up till noon. About ten o'clock we proceeded, still over mountains, regular Tyrolese mountaineering; and although my men had already pressed me when near Kfunju to pitch camp, I took advantage of the warm weather, and pushed on briskly, arriving here at 12.7 p.m.

"My tent is pitched in the midst of a homestead, consisting of eight huts enclosed with a thorn fence. The baggage has been stowed in one of the huts. The other huts are each inhabited by one wife of the chief with her children, and are full of dirt, provisions, and vermin. People, goats, fowls, and dogs all live together. Having induced the people, who first ran away, to return, and administered a sound beating to some of my men who commenced pillaging, we are now living on friendly terms, and outside my tent there is always a number of natives making all sorts of remarks.

"The people here are not nearly so poor as elsewhere in Mpororo, and I have even been able to purchase some durrah for the donkey. I sent some of the people into ecstasies of delight by giving a few glass beads to the children and their mothers, and as dealers never get to these parts, they were of course received most gratefully. The children cried as if

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they were afraid that I would swallow them, and even the mothers scarcely dared to hold out their hands ; but after one had taken courage, the others too came forward. Beads appear to be rare, but I observed bracelets, anklets and necklets of iron, and in the case of the more prosperous, of brass. Dark cloth appears to be another article that is almost unknown here. The men dress in cow-skins, while the women wear sheep- or goat-skins by preference ; these are very frequently greased with butter in order to make them very supple. You will readily believe that this does not improve their odour, but negroes seem to have a great predilection for the smell of butter, even if rancid. Altogether there is a strange contrast between the negroes generally and Semitic and other oriental nations as regards the development of their olfactory organs. While these exhibit a great predilection for the strongest possible scents, negroes appear to be utterly indifferent in this respect. It is true that the negresses in the Soudan, whether slaves or free, have learned to anoint themselves with geranium oil (imitation rose oil) or with the mixture called *medjuma*, in which the predominant scent is clove oil, but in the actual negro countries people possess scarcely any sense of smell. It would be an advantage if they had, as all negroes emit from their bodies a peculiar smell, which is sometimes very disagreeable, and the application of fragrant ointments would be very advantageous. Agricultural and cattle-breeding tribes are less affected with this smell than those whose exclusive diet is fish or meat. But you will scarcely care for this subject, and I must apologise for introducing it.

“CAMP AT RUHANGA, 16th April, 1891.

“I am again condemned to keep idle. This morning I sent back 110 porters to fetch Dr. Stuhlmann, with the remainder of the baggage, as no food is to be had in Kivere, while bananas, eleusine, a little flour, and beans are procurable here. When Stuhlmann arrives I shall go ahead again, and wait for him once more near the hot springs of Nyakesenye, which are two or three days' journey west. There I hope to meet the messengers I sent on ahead, unless our

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march proves to be what the English call a wild-geese chase. It is only with fear and trembling that I admit it could possibly be so.

"Meanwhile I am employing myself with the treatment of the sick left behind, palavers with natives as to roads and marches, and collecting notes and curios, and am patiently waiting for release. Last night I was so much disturbed that I could scarcely sleep for an hour. I found in the East that people sleep less than they do in your parts, but the negroes sleep far less still, and sometimes are regular night-birds, not waking from their semi-lethargy until night, and then being uproarious till near dawn. It is quite a common thing for negroes to rise from sound sleep in the middle of the night, chat for an hour, and then go to sleep again. In course of time we get used to these ways, but in the end we are ourselves thrown out of our regular habits; I sleep so lightly now that the least noise will wake me, and nights in which I get four hours of sleep are quite an exception. At the same time, it is impossible for me to sleep in the daytime.

"I was advised by the last mail that a case full of books is at the coast, and about to be sent on to me. How many old letters and parcels may be contained therein, the senders of which are wondering why I do not reply! The state of matters is miserable as regards sending on anything after us, and it is absolutely useless for me to order anything to be sent out. But it is best to keep silence about this; it is another case of 'something rotten in the State of Denmark.'

"RUHANGA, *17th April*, 1891.

"At 11 a.m. an alarm was given; women shrieked, children cried, and armed men ran away in hot haste. The inhabitants of the village of Kinjamagere, close by, who had long been at feud with the people here, had, in the depth of night, seized and driven away some of the cows left out on pasture. But the local men had succeeded in recovering all the cows from the robbers except one, and now the proprietor of the homestead, who had not before presented himself to me, and not even given me the everywhere customary present as a token of hospitality, suddenly appeared on the scene and

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called upon me, in a state of great excitement, to recover his cow for him. When I told him he had not even called on me, but completely ignored me, and that I should not interfere, he admitted that this was quite right, but as I was camping in his yard he considered I was bound to help him. This would have been quite right, provided that I had accepted a present of friendship from him; but as it was not so, I refused. He then disappeared, but returned after an hour with four sheep, which he asked me to accept; these I declined, as they now came too late as a gift of friendship, and to accept them would have been derogatory to me in the eyes of the negroes. He therefore departed, and the incident closed.

"I have given you full particulars of this incident, because it illustrates the state of things in this country. The whole of Mpororo has fallen into a complete state of lawlessness, owing to the circumstance that the Queen has no authority whatever, and there is no protection whatever for the subjects; for which reason the people up here in the north prefer to submit to the energetic King of Nkole. Perhaps you may think it strange that I attach so much value to the offering of a gift of friendship; I care absolutely nothing about the gift itself, because it necessitates my giving a larger gift in return; but what I have to look at is the neglect of the custom and courtesy, and were I to pocket the affront without remonstrance, they would simply laugh at the stupid European. And I have been too long in negro countries for that!

"RUHANGA, 18th April, 1891.

"Dr. Stuhlmann's porters returned with some of the loads at noon, but he himself was obliged to remain behind with twenty-five loads, because he was unable to get porters, although he had repeatedly been promised some. I at once appealed to my men, and twenty-eight volunteered to make the long march again early in the morning—of course, in view of a special gratuity. In fact, twenty-nine volunteered, but one took his gratuity and then disappeared, and when he was found and questioned he denied having had it. Of

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course he had to hand it back in the end, and received a good beating into the bargain. It does not often happen that the men thus break faith, and I therefore administered a thrashing as a deterrent to others.

"I have still heard nothing of my messengers ; which I can only account for by assuming that we have either missed each other, or that they have gone further than we anticipated. The men know how anxious I am to receive news, and are therefore likely to be trying to earn an extra reward. At any rate, they did not pass here, but probably went to Kaihura, a little more north ; it is certainly time I heard of them.

"I have rarely seen so many chameleons as here. They are found by twos and threes on every bush. Of course, natives everywhere consider them poisonous and avoid them, instead of enjoying their antics. I have put some into my tent, so that they may relieve me of the countless flies with which I am pestered.

"I wish you could be here for half an hour and hear the music around me. Bleating sheep, little cocks, that never tire of crowing, invariably in front of my tent, and children—my host has only ten wives, eight of whom have one child each, one has none, and one two, making in all ten children, three of which are between three and five years and the rest between two and eighteen months. Now you can imagine the crying ; it seems to spread from hut to hut, as if the children were proud of making their voices heard. That a negro mother should try to quiet her crying child is quite out of the question ; on the contrary, they seem to enjoy the noise.

"This reminds me that lullabies for singing little children to sleep appear to be almost unknown here—at least, among our East-Equatorial negroes—and nursery songs are rare and very poor. In the Arabic Soudan both are customary, and at one time I amused myself by collecting some materials on this subject. This was intended to serve as a supplement to the Soudanese-Arabian fairy tales which my friend Marno, who died too soon, was collecting. You will observe, therefore, that I cannot complain of want of distraction.

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“RUHANGA, 19th April, 1891.”

“It rained so hard from 6 a.m. that I could not despatch the porters till 10.15, and then only after having hunted them up out of every corner. In this cool, damp weather, the negroes creep into the most sheltered corners they can find, and their skin turns absolutely grey ; it is on this account that in America the negroes refused to fight in cold, damp weather : ‘ cold weather, no fight.’

“But I must say that I am not much better, and in such weather I prefer staying in my tent and waiting anxiously for a gleam of sunshine. And there is neither place nor opportunity for collecting or occupying myself usefully in any way ! All around everything is wrapped in thick mists and dripping with moisture ; not a bird is to be heard, not a beetle to be seen. Rainy weather is unpleasant everywhere, but it is particularly so in Africa, when you are not accustomed to it, and when you have nothing to shelter you from it. It is true that the natives everywhere rejoice that we ‘ are bringing rain with us,’ which for them means sowing, ripening, and a plentiful crop—that is to say, much to eat—but as we are differently placed, all we derive from it is a feeling of discomfort.

“The rain continued, with interruptions, till 1 p.m., when the weather brightened, and at 2.30 Dr. Stuhlmann arrived, having, after all, managed to procure porters, though not without much trouble.

“An hour after his arrival all the inhabitants of the homestead, with whom we had hitherto lived on most peaceful terms, had simply vanished, without the slightest cause being given on our part. They had broken through the back walls of their huts and fled with all their goods and chattels. At the same time all the people in the neighbourhood left their huts and fled before our eyes over the mountains. Why?

“I sent one of Njavingi’s men ahead to procure porters ; I hope he will succeed.

“About sunset I was pleasantly surprised by the arrival of Rokara, who had already been to see me at Bukoba ; he now returned, telling me that King Ntali of Nkole, having

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heard that I was so near (one day's march from the frontier of Nkole), had directed him to bring me twenty sheep, with his compliments, and to ask where I proposed to turn next; at the same time, he said he had instructions to direct all subjects of Ntali to assist me, as far as possible, with porters and food. This was very kind indeed, and as Rokara was very well satisfied with all that I told him, as well as with the presents he received, we shall be able to proceed merrily on our way to-morrow.

"CAMP AT KARO, 20th April, 1891.

"A pretty name! After I had collected all my men and taken leave of Rokara, who intended to remain behind for some hours to procure provisions and if possible porters for Stuhlmann, I marched into the hills at 6.52. The dew falls so heavily now that, as I am leading the advanced guard, and am consequently one of the first out on the road, I generally get soaked to the skin in about a quarter of an hour. The clothes will dry soon, but the boots will remain damp all day. Sewn soles simply drop off, owing to the rotting of the thread.

"It seems that we have now passed the high mountains, and ahead of us I can see nothing but a plateau surrounded by hills. Still the average altitude of this region is considerable, being nearly 2,500 feet above the sea. Consequently it is not surprising that my thermometer indicated 13.5° C. at 6 a.m., and we felt inclined to blow our hands to warm them. This region, too, is characterised by a complete absence of trees; as far as the eye reaches nothing but green pasture lands and slopes, even the hills being destitute of trees. In strange contrast to this we find numerous *Dracæna* and *Phoenix* bushes, but they are not very tall; of course vegetation is more plentiful in the valleys. In the lowest depressions there is generally a watercourse, the valley often assuming a marshy appearance, with short bushes, thistles, tall grasses, and reeds growing in such a profusion in the moist soil, that we have great difficulty in working our way through. More difficult still is the passage of real papyrus swamps, another peculiar feature of these highlands; I can-

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not account for the presence of this plant in any other way than by assuming that the seed has been conveyed here by birds. Each bunch of papyrus forming a distinct whole, all the intervals are filled with dirty water, decaying vegetation, and mud, and under water there is a network of roots which will frequently cause the unwary traveller to stumble and fall into the deep holes that beset his path. The water is black, and the discoloration caused by it will cling to the clothes and the skin for a long time. To-day we had to wade for nearly half a mile through one of these swamps, and in some places we had to carry the donkey, to prevent him getting stuck in the holes; and there were shouts of laughter when a woman disappeared, only her kitchen utensils indicating the place where she sank, or when a boy came a cropper and re-emerged showing his teeth and his curls covered with mud! It is a more serious matter when loads sink in the mud and have to be fished out again. But such are the delights of an African march!

"The natives fled everywhere, and it soon became apparent that our guides themselves did not know the way, but were making us march aimlessly in every direction. Near Kinjamagere, a rich village, from whence hailed the cattle-stealers of two days ago, our guide so completely entangled us in the plantations filled with undergrowth, creepers, and felled banana trees, that I lost patience, and, causing my men to cross the little brook Russo, I myself took the lead and steered by my compass. This brook was about eleven yards below the level of the land on either side, and to cross it we had to make our way down one bank and up the other through fissures channelled out by the water to a depth of about six feet, but so steep and narrow that there was barely room to turn. An awkward place in case of an attack!

"Near the village of Kako I at last saw some men who did not run away when we approached, and I therefore gave orders to halt for a rest. In a few moments I was surrounded by a ring of about 100 people, armed with lances and knives, and making all sorts of remarks about my complexion, hair, and spectacles. But we got to understand each other very well, and when I started again they gave me a guide, who at

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first absolutely insisted on taking me to Njavingi's village of Njererambi, but in the end agreed to conduct me in the desired direction, and brought us here about noon, where we were received by a crowd of spectators, including a number of Wahuma. I sent eighty-six porters from here to Stuhlmann, my messenger of yesterday having procured them, and I hope he will soon follow. To-morrow morning I shall go on to the hot springs.

"CAMP AT NJAVAGARUKA, 21st April, 1891.

"We had a dreary march through a very hilly country, broken by wide trough-like plains, intersected by swampy watercourses. Nothing but grass, heavy dew, and occasional rain. Homesteads very widely scattered and poor, though densely populated. Everybody is complaining of the terrible ravages caused by a cattle plague imported here from Nkole, which has completely destroyed the once-flourishing livestock, and is still raging in some places. The proprietor of a homestead on the Ruamanaba swamp complained that for weeks past the only available food there had been dead diseased cattle. Notwithstanding this, these people are still in good health! It would therefore seem that Central African microbes are not quite so pernicious as their European congeners.

"Of course I have been cheated out of a visit to the hot springs. First I was told that one group was quite near at hand, while the other was situated near Rudjumbira, where there was absolutely no food to be had, as King Nati had devastated the country. But as Rudjumbira lay too far out of my route, I gave up the idea of going there. Then I was told that if I wished to see the other group, I should have to camp on the Ruamanaba; that would have made me lose two days, so I decided to dispense with a visit to the hot springs and go on. One gets to be a regular locomotive here!

"But to make up for this disappointment I have discovered a fairly large new lake with a pretty island; I do not know yet how far the lake extends south. It is called Ruakitenge, and belongs to the Ruhanda country, from which I have been the first to lift the veil. On the mountain sides I again came

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across some white quartz, and saw good-sized mica flakes glittering everywhere.

"How scarce animals are in this country! Wherever bushes grow, even including the papyrus, a few singing birds may be met with, and the croaking of white-necked ravens is heard, and possibly now and then a sportive francolin, but that is all! But you must not believe the oft-repeated statements as to Africa's poverty with regard to singing birds. There are many good songsters here, and this very day I enjoyed the full notes of some piping shrikes, which for want of trees and bushes had built in the papyrus.

"We arrived here about noon, just in time for a thunder symphony, with the usual accompaniment of rain.

"CAMP AT KARIMBA, 22nd April, 1891.

"At 6.15 a.m. we descended from the windy heights to the depth of a trough-like depression in which the inevitable watercourse completed the work of the dew in soaking us to the skin. Although we passed a large number of small, poor-looking homesteads, the aspect on the whole, apart from a few fine sorghum fields, showed no variation; there were traces of former villages and cattle zeribas, all destroyed by the cattle plague, and war. But we were constantly accompanied by a crowd of loudly-gesticulating people, who, in spite of dew and thistles, ran alongside of us; there were even some applicants for employment among them. A tall Mhuma asked me whether I would like to take him with me; his cattle had died, his property was gone, the friends he had when well-to-do had given him the cold shoulder now that he was poor,—he was willing to bring his wife and children and come with me. *Tout comme chez nous, n'est ce pas?*

"To-day, as yesterday, we saw large numbers of 'crowned' or 'peacock' cranes by the roadside; pretty, though somewhat stiff figures, with a peculiar yelling cry. I often used to keep them, and took pleasure in the pretty tame creatures; they followed me about like dogs. They have the peculiar habit of sometimes arranging themselves in ranks like soldiers, all facing the same way, and some of them will often step out of the rank and perform dances, which the children

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of Unyoro were in the habit of imitating very prettily when at play. I may add that they make a good dish when roasted, although the flesh is rather dark.

"The Nyamakeru watercourse rushes across our road and pours down a narrow deep ravine, the sides of which fall off vertically in some parts, leaving them completely bare, exhibiting the yellow clay soil, while in a few other places they are to some extent covered with wood. The ravine is very pretty, but the path is rather dangerous. After this the road ascends over granite and quartz up to the summit of the mountain ; where we halted there was more low grassy land, without a shrub or tree.

"We then came to wide durrah and bean fields looking beautifully green, and the conical peak of the Ruandaya rose before us like a landmark. We now saw large numbers of natives, heard many barking dogs, and caught sight of three herds of cattle. We still had to ascend a good way before we reached the homesteads of Karimba, where, to my chagrin, we had to camp, being told that no food was to be had in Njakessenje. As if there was anything here except sheep ! However, I have issued to my men their fourteen days' rations in the shape of cloth, and to-morrow morning we shall enter Butumbi, intending to camp near Kavanya. I am told that the country near there is wooded. God grant it ; I am getting very weary of these grass lands !

"No doubt these woods are the most advanced portion of the West African forest, the actual tropical wood region, and we may anticipate a most interesting botanical and zoological harvest. When speaking of the forest, the negroes bowed their heads, as if to indicate that it was dense and difficult to pass. This would certainly tally with the news previously received as to the occurrence of chimpanzees in Butumbi."

Chapter XXXV

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"CAMP AT KANTANDA, 23rd April, 1891.

"**B**EFORE my departure I made the pleasant discovery that the men who had hitherto been my guides had decamped during the night, and, probably by way of indemnifying themselves for their trouble, had taken with them my little flock of sheep. Very kind of them, but not exactly pleasant for me! There is a good deal of truth in the old French proverb, *les chagrins du départ sont pour celui qui reste*.

"At 6.45 a.m. we proceeded; the delay was due to the insufficient number of porters and the consequent difficulties in distributing the loads. After wading through a papyrus swamp, in which the muddy water occasionally reached up to our calves, we commenced a mountaineering feat which one could not beat in the Tyrol. Six hundred feet up and as many down, several times repeated between morning and noon, is trying even to the best constitution. We had not breath enough to indulge in a Tyrolese *yodle*.

"At 7.17 a.m. we arrived at the rocky ford across the broad Njeruesika, widening out, a little lower down, into an enormous papyrus swamp, but affording a free passage.

"Otherwise the journey was very interesting: now broad channels worn in the rock, now dangerously narrow paths over escarpments so steep that on the narrow path (a mere hand-breadth) one foot was always considerably above the level of the other, and it required the greatest caution to prevent oneself from slipping into the abyss below. You will understand what such a journey means for loaded porters. I

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was therefore compelled to halt on every summit to give the men time to recover breath; meanwhile the clouds were getting darker and darker. However, we proceeded further over the mountains, down the numerous water and mud channels and up again to the bare summits. The highest altitude we passed to-day was a little over 6,100 feet. On the slopes I observed a few trees and clusters of tall thistles, *senecio* with yellow flowers, *tephrosia* with white flowers, and quantities of ferns everywhere. I also found a violet, though not the familiar variety. The sites of former homesteads were now covered with castor-oil plants and *solanum*, grown to the height of trees, thanks to the favourable soil. Probably all these parts were originally covered with woods, which had been destroyed, but owing to the climatic conditions the subsequent growth did not thrive so well.

"The country is fairly well populated, and everywhere people come to stare at us, notably large numbers of Wahuma. Everywhere I hear complaints of want of food, cattle plague, and poverty. But if I offer to pay them for carrying a load for me, they refuse. A negro freeman will not carry any load. It will take a long time to make these people understand that work is no disgrace. With a great deal of trouble, I managed to induce one of them to act as my guide; all whom I asked before to guide me refused, saying they did not know the way. The reason is that the people never get beyond the immediate neighbourhood of their village, partly because they feel no need of intercourse with the outside world and partly because the various communities are constantly at war with each other.

"At about 11.15 we were still proceeding on a very rugged path along the mountain side, hoping to reach Kavoranyo, after crossing one more ridge, when the storm broke loose, enveloping us with dark mist; the lightning flashed, the thunder rolled, and the windows of heaven were opened. We could scarcely see two yards ahead. Our only hope was to reach some huts about 200 yards lower down, by going over the rocks and through the thorny undergrowth and dripping grass; a very nasty task for men with loads, or indeed for those who had none. I remained behind at first to hurry up

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the porters who were slowly arriving, and then went on myself, or rather ran, my way being straight down the hillside, and exactly at noon we were ensconced in the huts. Their owners had fled, leaving even their sheep and goats behind ; but they soon returned, and as we restored their property intact, we are all comfortable together, and are drying our clothes and baggage.

"The storm continued till 3 p.m. It is long since I heard such a cannonade as this, though it was quite the order of the day with us in the Equatorial Province. Near the coast, the thunder, or what there is of it, is rather a tame affair, but here the rumbling never ceases for a moment ; the successive peals blend with one another. Add to this, flash after flash of lightning, and the rain beating down in torrents. These thunderstorms are a grand spectacle, but only enjoyable when you can watch them from the shelter of a hut ; it is too dreadfully wet outside.

"It is a wretched place ; it is like a cauldron, and I dread the prospect of having to pass several days in its damp, stuffy atmosphere, but I must send porters to Dr. Stuhlmann and find out something about the way that lies before us. And I shall have enough to do besides tending the sick, negotiating with the negroes, opening packs, drying the contents in the sun, patching up cases and bales, for all must be ready so that I may start as soon as Dr. Stuhlmann arrives. I wonder whether we shall get anything to eat here ? It does not look like it, and the people in the surrounding parts will probably find it too far to come across the mountains.

"CAMP AT KANTANDA, *24th April*, 1891.

"The bulk of my men left very early, and I am now alone with a handful of them. Unfortunately my fears have been verified : there is no food to be had. No people have come in from the neighbourhood ; those on the spot have nothing themselves, and therefore can only beg of us. To make matters worse, the weather is cold enough to keep us all in our tents, and from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. we had a repetition of yesterday's thunderstorm, accompanied by pouring rain. You may well imagine our position is not enviable.

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• "CAMP AT KANTANDA, 25th April, 1891.

"It is just a year to-day since I left the coast. I wonder what good will come of this enterprise in the end. I cannot help thinking sometimes that in sending me out the authorities were acting on the impulse of the moment, and have since repented it.

"My messengers have returned from Makovoli; the news they bring is not comforting. The land before us, they say, is famished, and scarcely any food is to be had; Makovoli had gone to the lake, a day and a half's journey, but he was at once sent for, and promised to come. Porters were also promised; messengers might be expected to-morrow. I at once sent back the man who had acted as my guide, to procure food for us, as the situation is getting critical. We can manage for two more days; after that food will have to be got from somewhere. There is a Turkish proverb '*Haldıl mál geib elmás*' (rightful property is never lost). My sheep have just been safely brought back, and I must apologise to my vanished guides for the suspicion I entertained against them. Now I shall at least be able to give a scrap of meat to my men, who really have nothing to eat, and regale myself with a supper,—not a very grand one, for all I have is a piece of meat, not even a bean or a banana with it; but a piece of roast meat, if only mutton, is something to be thankful for.

"Although I could never aspire to the perfection attained by my accomplished friend Junker, who is an authority even on culinary matters, I must honestly confess that the cuisine on this journey falls short even of my modest pretensions. My cook, a very worthy woman, remained behind at Bagamoyo; her cooking was tolerably good, as she was trained by my chef Abd-el-Cher, who had actually been in France, but whom I had to dismiss eventually owing to his chronic intoxication. In their time I fared pretty well, and made a point of having decent meals; but now we are thoroughly taken in.

"CAMP AT KANTANDA, 26th April, 1891.

"Wonders never cease! The sun is shining, and here is a man bringing fowls for sale. Of course I at once had all our

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effects spread out in the sun to dry, mounting guard over them myself, because in Africa more than anywhere else—even amongst my own people—it is well to bear in mind that ‘Opportunity makes the thief.’

“My host has suddenly appeared, bringing me a sheep, for which I paid him. I asked him about the road and the country, but could get nothing from him; he pretended he knew nothing. There must be some hidden reason for his liberality, but I expect it will soon come to light.

“Meanwhile the men, who left at an early hour to make a round of the neighbouring villages and buy food, have returned without success, but each of them brought back a large parcel of green beans, and I begged some of them. I have also been fortunate in other respects, having found a few birds not yet in my collection; there may be a new species among them. To-night I shall try to bag a guinea-fowl for my table; they are plentiful here, and I should like to determine their species. But it is a dreadful place, and even my donkey is getting tired of it; every now and then he looks into my tent, as if inquiring how much longer we are going to stay here. Our porters must reach Dr. Stuhlmann to-day at the latest, but when will he be able to get here?

“CAMP AT KANTANDA, *27th April*, 1891.

“The messengers I sent on ahead to the lake returned late last night, and although, as usual, they were led about hither and thither without aim or purpose by the negroes, and all sorts of obstacles were put in their way to prevent them from reaching their actual destination, they gleaned most interesting particulars of the country, as well as the positive certainty that the people whom they were to inquire for had settled in Ukondjo.

“When Stuhlmann arrives, we shall not be long in finding out what truth there is in their information and how matters stand. Unfortunately the porters I sent back appear to have loitered unconscionably; I fear that yesterday morning they had only got half way. Forty-one loads which Stuhlmann sent on in advance were simply thrown down on the roadside by the natives; it was only to-day I heard of it and sent

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men to fetch them. These everlasting journeys to and fro on account of the loads are paralysing all our energies ; even the men are getting weary and morose.

“My messengers have brought me a little salt ; it is most welcome, as we were running short, and it would have been a pity to use our scanty supply of table-salt for the kitchen. A good deal of salt is obtained at the north of the lake, and quite a thriving trade is carried on, a sufficient inducement to King Kabrega to occupy the whole of Usongoro, thereby securing the salt trade for his own people.

“The natives here have commenced to come in, bringing a few fowls and some beans for sale, but they refuse to take either beads or cloth in payment ; they want sheep- or goat-skins. Just like the negroes !

“When first I came to Uganda, I wanted a grey parrot. A native promised to bring me one next day. He did so, but in exchange asked for a red parasol—an article I did not possess, of course—and as he declined any substitute, though doubtless more useful and valuable to him, I did not get my parrot.

“The negroes are simply grown-up children, who, having attained a certain stage of development, generally stagnate and appear incapable of further advancement. Far be it from me to assert that there are no exceptions. But in view of the somewhat exaggerated expectations formed by most philanthropists or *soi-disant* philanthropists (for in this as in other matters fashion plays a great part), I consider it the duty of the few who really know the negro, and wish to work on his behalf, to express their opinion openly, regardless of maudlin sentiment and antiquated romance. Excuse the apparent severity of my remarks. The regeneration of Africa can only be effected by an absolutely matter-of-fact policy. The Algerian missionaries have happily struck the right track in this respect, and though the motto of missionary endeavour in general may rightly be ‘*ora et labora*’ in the negroes’ own interest, the motto should be inverted and ‘*labora*’ have precedence.

“Unfortunately singing psalms is a barren amusement. At last I have found out what impelled our host so suddenly to

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bring that sheep. He has had two iron shovels stolen from him, and he wishes me to replace them. A good example of negro policy.

"Another man came to-day bringing a sheep as a present, and when I declined it he promptly fetched a second; but I declined both. What is behind all this? The present was certainly not offered without some ulterior motive.

"CAMP OF KANTANDA, *28th April, 1891.*

"Sunshine, making my wearied heart rejoice. Immediately after, dense clouds of surging mist, at times throwing a silvery veil over the whole landscape, then disappearing along the mountains,—a beautiful sight!

"Twenty-five out of the forty loads sent on by Dr. Stuhlmann have at last arrived, and I am just sending for the remainder. I may therefore hope that the hour of my release is at hand; although Dr. Stuhlmann, who has hitherto always brought up the rear, should now be entitled to take the lead for once. I shall willingly leave him the option.

"To this day not a single one of the local chiefs has presented himself, nor can we get sufficient food, and I shall be very glad to leave. From an early hour this morning the goods have all been laid out in the sun; I have had all the bales newly covered and all defective cases mended, made the men clean their arms and drill, clean our piece of artillery and perform other minor camp-work; in this way time has passed quickly enough. I must now try to get a guide, and then shall be ready to start at any moment. I am sorry I sent any presents to Makovoli, as hitherto I have heard nothing from him. But my road lies right past his place, and I shall still be able to put a pressure on him if he should really fail to send any message.

"It seems we cannot get through a single day without rain; to-day we have again had our share. But it was not excessive, and unless there is much to follow to-night we shall not hurt.

"In my leisure hours I am reading Dr. Junker's book, the first part of which was recently sent me by the publishers, no doubt by Junker's instructions, and the second volume came

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by the last mail to Dr. Stuhlmann, who has kindly lent it to me. It is written in a pleasant and attractive style, and is all the better for the omission of Buchta's learned effusions. It is a pity that Junker could not take his large collections home with him; they would have supplemented and elucidated a good many points. Junker is a capital fellow, one of the kind that the Lord makes on special occasions. Of course I am anxious to see Volume III., which will deal with the events that particularly concerned us. I am also anxious to see Captain Casati's book, which probably has been brought out ere now.

"CAMP AT KANTANDA, 29th April, 1891.

"All being well, Dr. Stuhlmann is to arrive to-day. A wretched, rainy day!

"CAMP AT KANTANDA, 30th April, 1891.

"Dr. Stuhlmann did not arrive, the reason being that the porters did not reach him on the 26th as arranged, but on the 27th, and he will probably arrive to-day or to-morrow,—an unwelcome delay.

"I was told to-day that Chief Makovoli, to whom I sent presents, has returned from the lake, but instead of coming here went direct to Njavingi *via* Rudjumbira, with a few pieces of ivory. This shows great want of respect to us, and proves that with negroes kind treatment does not answer as a rule, unless they have previously had a taste of *argumentum ad hominem*. I may explain that Queen Njavingi has repeatedly called in the aid of her more powerful neighbour, King Ntali of Nkole, to punish her rebellious chiefs, and on such occasions he pillages their respective districts. Something of the kind happened here three months ago, the northern part of Makovoli's district being laid waste; he therefore hastens now to make his peace, quite neglecting us in his anxiety.

"I at once sent a message to his first under-chief, protesting energetically, and demanding that some one should be sent to me at once. Should he still fail in this, I shall consider the advisability of applying gentle pressure.

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"Meanwhile numbers of natives are coming and going, bringing small quantities of beans, peas, eleusine corn, and some fowls, so that the bodily welfare of my people is provided for to a certain extent ; I am speaking guardedly, because the continuously damp weather has put quite a number of people on the sick list. In Africa we are all of us children of the sun, and temperature that you would consider pleasant makes us shiver.

"During the night the inhabitants of the huts, with whom we were on such good terms, disappeared with their women and children, though only last night we were chatting together. If I could think it possible, I should look upon this as a declaration of war ; but these people are far too chicken-hearted for that ; besides, the assumption is at variance with the fact that a large number of natives from the surrounding villages are here ; it is simply another negro whim.

"At 11 a.m. Dr. Stuhlmann with men and baggage arrived, in the pouring rain. He tells me that immediately after my departure the people at Ruhanga got very impudent, and it was only by great patience and tact that he succeeded in avoiding a conflict. But when the two porters sent back from here arrived, a disturbance broke out ; in a few moments four porters were killed and three rather badly wounded, and it was only by energetic intervention that Stuhlmann managed to settle the quarrel so that he was able to march two hours later. I shall therefore be able to leave here at last, and start to-morrow morning ; but I cannot go far, as the porters will have to return. As soon as I reach Mpimbi I shall give the men a week's rest. I have not yet been able to secure a guide, and shall therefore have to lead the column myself with the aid of my compass, but I can manage that very well. In return for the fir-twigs I send you some African forget-me-nots, culled at an altitude of 6,000 feet above sea-level.

"CAMP AT KJINKESI, 1st May, 1891.

"After a long palaver with the guides (who wanted to be paid in advance, I, of course, declining), I started at 6.45 this morning. We first ascended the steep side of this caldron valley ; then had to slide—walking being almost out of the

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question—a long way down an even steeper mountain side. Really the easiest plan would have been to sit down and simply toboggan to the bottom, but we had to consider our clothes. Then uphill again; at 7.20 we stopped for a moment to take breath on the summit, at an altitude of 6,300 feet. A smooth and gentle, but very long, descent followed.

“All around the country is nicely wooded, and in the hollows the clumps of trees are often quite dense. *Erica* bushes more than six feet high, many in full bloom, abound, and there is no lack of full-blown *tephrosia*, thistles, and *senecio*, with a sprinkling of white-flowered anemones and beautiful variegated *convolvulaceæ*. A babbling brook at the foot of the slope, its course marked by occasional huts and homesteads, is the boundary of Kavrange, our intended camp for the night.

“But it was only 8.30 a.m., and we had not yet made a proper day's march, so I steadily continued uphill, amidst many bushes and dense, luxuriant vegetation. At 9.12 we reached the pleasant fields and homesteads of Maisi Moëro (White Water), where a number of people came towards us, quite friendly, and willingly answering our questions as to the road. But when we proposed to pitch our camp with them, we were told that Kjinkesi (which had been indicated to us for our second night's quarters) was quite close at hand, and we should do better to proceed there. This was simply a polite way of getting rid of us. But as Kjinkesi was on my road, and I could lose nothing by marching farther, I went on, crossing numerous small watercourses in densely wooded country; twice I caught sight of the lake from the mountain heights, and at 10.20 I arrived here in the pouring rain. Pitching tents and arranging our things took up the best part of another hour.

“Meanwhile an embassy came from Makovoli, informing me that the chief, who was in Rudjumbira, would probably come to see me to-morrow morning, and asking me to send him ten pieces of cloth. Well, they found me in the right humour, and probably never in all their lives met with such a warm reception as I gave them to-day. They took their leave very politely, and repeated that Makovoli would come

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himself to-morrow and bring presents. The chief seems to be rather humble just now, because he is threatened by my friend Ntali of Nkole. The country hereabouts is inhabited by the Wairuntu tribe of the Wahuma, and the actual natives are Waigabe, some speaking Kinyoro and others Kikuyu. The people are friendly, and it amused me to hear a Wahuma woman call out to people who were running away that they need not be afraid, as we were very nice people.

"I sent the porters back to-day, as it is not so very far ; we got here in 3 hours 35 minutes.

"CAMP AT KJINKESI, *2nd May*, 1891.

"Yesterday was a wretched day ! We had rain on the way and again on our arrival, but at 3 p.m. one of those continuous downpours set in, such as no one but a farmer could appreciate. The rain came down so heavily that one could not see two paces ahead, and a thick whitish veil hid everything. This continued till midnight. Not a native was to be seen, while all our men were huddled up in their tents, shivering and miserable. Then a gale sprang up and cleared the sky, at the same time raging madly among our tents, venting its fury particularly on the roof of mine, which, being the worse for wear, was soon torn to shreds. The water was ankle-deep in the tent,—altogether a very comfortable night !

"Early dawn was a sombre study in grey ; there were only occasional gusts of wind, but they served to intensify the discomfort caused by the cold and wet ; unfortunately there was no remedy, firewood being scarce here and the pleasant forests far behind us on the heights. A cup of hot tea will cheer me ; but what will my poor men do ? At such moments one might feel tempted, from sheer wretchedness, to have recourse to the brandy flask, but it is best left alone. Not that I wish to boast of my abstinence, for I sometimes like a glass of wine or so. But I can do without alcohol for years without feeling the want of it, and I am positive that it is just because most Europeans cannot abstain from alcoholic liquor that they suffer so much in Africa. By leading a regular life, avoiding excess of every kind, and

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having the moral courage to disregard the petty discomforts of life, one can keep in good health even in Africa, and laugh at all the talk about deadly climate, malaria, etc.

"To my great delight Dr. Stuhlmann arrived here at ten, and I shall therefore be able to proceed to-morrow. Makovoli sent me an ox, with many propitiatory compliments ; I had it killed at once for the porters. He promises to come to me himself, and I have made an appointment to meet him to-morrow at Migera ; he says he will find me porters ; just what I want.

"Another surprise : figures in white were suddenly seen in the distance, coming towards the camp. They were elephant-hunters, Wanyamwesi, who have settled here ; they either could not or would not give me any information whatever as to the country and people, and only repeated that they were poor people, and asked me to give them a present.

"I hear that an outflow from the lake runs south ; I wonder whether it flows into Lake Tanganyika ?

"CAMP AT MUGONGO, 3rd May, 1891.

"A regular Sunday treat ! I started at 6.25, beginning with a long descent, followed by a useless detour in a semi-circle through grass heavy with dew, and tangled bushes, giving us a foretaste of what was to come. After crossing the small watercourse of Kasondju, and passing the long string of huts that constitute the principal village of Kjinkesi, we commenced to climb, up and down, over hills and mountains, along precipices and through ravines,—such an intricate system of narrow clefts between high mountains that it would take a year to draw a proper map of it.

"The country is tolerably well cultivated ; durrah corn is particularly plentiful in the fields, and is always neatly fenced in to protect it against cattle and game. Other things, too, render the march quite interesting, although so laborious. Then we found ourselves again in beautiful forests with tall trees and dense vegetation. For a long time we marched along a hillside in a kind of bower formed by trees meeting overhead ; on either hand trees and undergrowth, and every nook well filled with splendid *caladium*,

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ferns, and *rubiacæ*; overhead a dense roof of branches and creepers. Afterwards we came to another height overgrown with tall *erica*, *senecio*, anemones, and *tephrosias*.

"We also crossed a small torrent falling in cascades over a rocky bed. The water reached up to our hips, but was only 20 feet wide. Strange to say, the natives had laid out many of their fields on slopes so steep that I wonder the seed, and, in fact, the whole field, is not washed away by the rain streaming down from the heights. All the morning our march had been most erratic, but about nine o'clock things got so bad that I could not help suspecting the guides of wishing to take me out of my route, although it is difficult to say this in respect of a completely unexplored country and in view of the well-known tortuousness of negro paths. At any rate I protested vigorously when I perceived that we were being led through grass and undergrowth absolutely devoid of any track.

"On the way I met Ruheiana, the chief of Kjinkesi, who told me Makovoli had ordered him to have all my things conveyed to me to morrow,—good news if it turns out true.

"CAMP AT MUGONGO, 4th May, 1891.

"At last we are again in the forest region of the west. Since early morning I have been amusing myself with observing such decidedly Western bird forms as grey parrots, love-birds, *korythaices*, Cape cuckoos, and other species with which I became acquainted in the Monbuttu and Nyam-Nyam regions.

"Mugongo is a poor but rather extensive village, situated in a clearing in the midst of woodlands, and I should much like to stop here a week to collect, more especially as there appear to be no forests near the lake in front of us. The people say that chimpanzees are found here; elephants are also said to be fairly numerous.

"At 9.5 a.m. a crowd of negroes assembled silently in front of my tent; after a quarter of an hour the ruler of the country (Butumbi), the long-expected Makovoli, revealed himself in their midst. I pretended to be very angry that he had neglected me so long; he apologised. Finally I de-

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manded porters as far as Matambuka's place, which he promised to supply,—what chance is there, I wonder, that he will keep his word? The villain has not even brought me a present.

"Stuhlmann arrived at 11 a.m., but had left twenty-six loads behind under guard. I therefore asked Makovoli at once for men to fetch them, and ten men were despatched before my eyes; the remainder were to be found in Kjinkesi. Rain set in and continued for several hours. When at night Makovoli came to take his leave (he promises to return to-morrow with 150 porters!), it transpired that the ten men had turned back and nobody had troubled about the loads. A somewhat stormy scene ensued between myself and the mendacious chief, who was very humble, and promised to get the loads here by to-morrow morning, protesting also that he would supply ample porters to-morrow. But in the interest of my people I must see that they are provided, and we shall therefore remain to-morrow. Makovoli's conduct is all the more unpardonable as he can afford to supply a large number of men (there are always from 100 to 120 loitering about), and because I had asked him to fix his own price, to be paid in cloth, etc., for finding the porters.

"He is a young man of pronounced Wahuma type (the Wahuma tribe of the Msamvo), similar in appearance and demeanour to King Ndagara of Karagwe, and equally stupid. He scarcely ever speaks, leaving his *Katikiro* (councillor) to speak for him.

"CAMP AT MUGONGO, 5th May, 1891.

"My heart beats higher now that I am again in a forest. The parrots flit whistling over my tent, on every side I hear the warbling of the *korythaices*; a pigeon, which I fail to identify, is cooing in the bushes, and monkeys are performing gymnastics in the tree-tops. It is a scene that compensates one for all the troubles of African life. I must now really try my luck at finding something new; hitherto an untoward fate appears to have attended my collecting. I have found several new mammals, but only two birds unknown to me.

"So far (9 a.m.) my baggage has not arrived. In order to

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give you an idea of my travelling equipment, I subjoin a list of my personal effects: tent (two loads), mattress, etc. (one load), 'bedstead and servants' effects (one), table, chairs (one), medicine chest and various instruments (two), meteorological and other instruments (one), books, writing and drawing materials (two), clothes, underwear, boots (three), collecting boxes (two), cartridges, shot, powder (one), spare box (one),—altogether seventeen loads. In addition, there are two loads of crockery, cooking vessels, etc., for Stuhlmann and myself. This outfit will suffice, if necessary, for another two years.

“CAMP AT MUGONGO, *6th May*, 1891.

“Of course not a single porter has appeared, but Makovoli presented himself with all sorts of requests, that I naturally met by a rather blunt refusal. He has now disappeared to get porters together, and I am meanwhile issuing rations to the men. Noon came, but not a single negro appeared; then I lost patience, and a rather heated discussion was the consequence. This at least had the effect that, notwithstanding pouring rain, thunder and lightning, thirty-five men turned up by 2 p.m., and I sent these on with thirty-three of my own men, accompanied by the requisite escort. We shall follow to-morrow morning.

“The rain was so heavy that the whole place is changed into a quagmire, and we are wading ankle-deep in mud; yet it has only been raining for one hour. I have just been able to despatch five more porters. Makovoli is keeping out of the way.

“CAMP AT VUISA KINIGA, BUGANSA DISTRICT,

“*7th May*, 1891.

“Of course no porters! Stuhlmann led the van, and I followed at 6.55 a.m. Marching is rather difficult on the slippery forest soil, more especially when going up or downhill.

“The first part of our journey, up to the Kirense hills, lay through pretty forest scenes and over a number of brooks lined with luxuriant vegetation along their banks, sometimes

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varied by black, bad-smelling waters. We are still in the forest region. The path along the precipices is sometimes so narrow, and washed away by rain, that one is always walking on an incline, and must be very careful not to make a false step, which would mean falling to the bottom. At least we had sunshine, but it was a very hot sun, presaging rain. Descending from the mountains, we had before us a wide undulating stretch of grass, occasionally interspersed with a strip of woodland. At this point sixteen native porters supplied by Makovoli threw off their loads and decamped. After taking the requisite measures, the march was continued ; we passed a few more muddy pools, and at 12.38 we reached the river Issassa, which is about twelve or fifteen yards wide. The water was breast-high. Immediately after, we crossed the Muniaya, which was about six to eight yards wide and waist-deep. Then the rain came down again, but not very hard, and it left off just as we were reaching the top of the rather steep mountain. We then proceeded through prickly grasses ; all around we saw numbers of high, dark-yellow ant-hills, as a rule standing in twos or threes on spots completely free from grass. Such places are clean and invite travellers to pitch their tents, but they had best beware of doing so ! Whenever I asked my guide how far it was to our camping place, he invariably answered, 'Quite close.' But it was 2 p.m. before we sighted the few wretched huts which constitute the homestead of Vuisa Kiniga, situated so far out of the road that Dr. Stuhlmann preferred to have the tents pitched this side of the brook on one of the clear places just referred to. We had had a good march of over 6½ hours. The proprietor of the homestead came at once ; he complained of being short of everything, but promised some porters for to-morrow,—will he keep his word ?

"At 4 p.m. rain set in again, and at 5 it was pouring so hard that the whole place was flooded. At 7 the rain ceased, and immediately after we heard on all sides the low crackling noise of the termites at work,—a peculiar buzzing sound. We quickly had to bring everything that was destructible into safety ; the trunks and cases were protected by placing them on stones, and thus we spoiled the white ants' pleasure.

Chapter XXXVI

ON THE ALBERT EDWARD NYANZA AND BEYOND

"CAMP AT VICHUMBI, 10th May, 1891.

"ARRIVED at last! I could not find leisure to write yesterday, as my men gave me no rest.

"We marched a good three hours over undulating prairie, with now and then a few marshy places and occasionally a little bush. The characteristic plant of this locality is a kind of euphorbia, new to me, with triangular branches and broad leaves; it grows to a good height and presents.

"Prairie again, with very few bushes. At 11.36 we arrived on the bank of an important river, the Ruchuru, 170 to 180 feet wide and over 3 feet deep; it must take a large volume of water into the Albert Edward Lake. This river is said to come from the far Ruhanda country. After crossing the river, we again passed through hilly prairies, occasionally varied by fairly extensive euphorbia woods. We also crossed a swamp where thousands of red-billed weavers were nesting, some of the nests already containing eggs. The wide expanse of Lake Albert Edward stretches before us.

"At 1.47 I found the caravan halting once more, as the negroes in the villages where we intended to camp threatened war. I had some of them called to me, and ten minutes later we entered the village together and camped on the salt market, surrounded by hundreds of natives. Messengers were despatched to call the chief, Mutambuka, who had hidden himself. He arrived at 5 p.m. with three sheep, welcomed us, and promised to come early this morning for a business palaver.

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"Hundreds of natives remained with us yesterday till nightfall. The night passed very quietly, broken only by the occasional grunt of a hippopotamus and the howling of hyenas,—familiar sounds to my ears.

"Exact calculations will have to be made before we arrive at absolute certainty, but I feel sure that this lake, like others, shrinks year by year, and it will require a good number of rainy years to fill it again to its normal level.

"We have around us to-day a motley crowd of gaping men and women desiring to buy cloth with their eleusine. The only other article of diet to be had here is smoked fish. The villages are populous, but there is not a trace of agriculture. Vichumbi appears to be an intermediate centre for the salt traffic from Usongoro to the south, and all food is bartered here for salt. The women wear quantities of glass beads and brass and iron rings. Cloth is seen occasionally; it is brought here by Mutatumbua's and Mukotani's people from Bukoba; they come to barter cloth and Uganda bark cloth for ivory. The place is therefore a regular trading centre, and this has already given the people confidence.

"After the cold we experienced in the mountains, the great heat here is quite strange; for the first time for many days I slept under a blanket without feeling chilly. At noon the temperature was 31° C.

"We shall have to stay here a few days, until our thoroughly soaked bales have been dried in the sun, and till the loads and men left behind come up with us, and arrangements for continuing our march are complete. To facilitate the progress of the expedition, everything that can be dispensed with will be left here. It must be borne in mind that we are now in regions where no European has ever set foot before, and of which no maps or reports exist; consequently our responsibilities are greater.

"CAMP AT VICHUMBI, 11th May, 1891.

"All night long the natives were drumming and singing to the accompaniment of howling hyenas and snorting, grunting hippopotami; sleep was almost out of the question.

"As^d my friend Rutambuka (or Mutambaka) did not

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appear by 3 p.m. yesterday, I sent him a piece of cloth in return for the sheep he had given me, and inquired why he had deceived me. This had the desired effect ; he came with many excuses, complained of the stupidity and dilatoriness of his people, who had failed to bring the food intended for me at the proper time, promised to get the huts ready for us this very day, and to provide porters and boats, etc., etc. Of course two-thirds of this is humbug.

"But he did not get another present. On the other hand, quantities of eleusine corn mixed with sorghum, fresh and dried fish, and gourds have been brought for us to buy, so we are not short of food.

"This morning we had a beautiful sunrise. In the foreground the calm waters of the bay, with shoals of pelicans and negro fishing boats, on one side the blue mountains, and due north the lofty Ruwenzori with its glittering snow-clad peaks.

"CAMP OF RIRUWE, 15th May, 1891.

"After sending the sick on ahead by boat, the expedition marched off overland, both columns being together, the first time for many a day. Immediately beyond the huts of Vichumbi we entered regular prairie land, and in a short time arrived at another creek of the lake towards the south. It was from a yard to a yard and a half in depth and about forty-five yards wide, but the bottom being sandy we had no difficulty in crossing. We met a number of people carrying bundles of wood for sale in Vichumbi. Vichumbi is known far and wide as 'Katara.' Mutatembua's and Mukatani's people from the Victoria Lake come as far as this to exchange cloth, bark material and coffee against ivory. The people of Vichumbi, on the other hand, ship materials, eleusine corn, and other victuals to Usongoro, where they barter them against salt, which they sell to the people of Ruhanda, Buitua, and Kissema. Hence the importance of the place.

"We observed an abundance of game, reddish-brown antelopes and buffaloes ; and on the bank of the lake, a good distance off, we saw a flock of pelicans standing in the sun.

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All along the roads there were pits for catching game. In one of these pits Dr. Stuhlmann found, at a depth of three feet below the surface and about thirty feet above the level of the lake, a layer of fossils, including some fresh-water shells belonging to species still existing in Lake Victoria (perhaps here too); strong evidence that at some former period the level of the lake was much higher; this also indicates the gradual shrinkage of the lake and shows the denudation of the land.

"At 10 a.m. we reached the banana woods of Mahumbo. Here I once more beheld the *Musa paradisiaca* of Monbuttu, with its long fruit, that I prefer to any other kind of banana. In front of the huts the ripe bananas were spread out in the sun to dry—in the same way as the people of Monbuttu prepare their 'badingo' (dried bananas), an excellent article of diet.

"At 10.30 we crossed the Ruhanda river, ten yards wide and one deep, coming from the south-west and discharging itself into the lake. Then through prairie land again, but soon after we came to tilled fields, and at 11.25 pitched our camp in the village of Kiruwe, belonging to my friend Muhagura, who received us very kindly. The baggage is to go on to-morrow; it is raining very hard just now.

"I hear that in the Wawamba country, eight days' march from here, Salim bin Obeid's Manyuema people, led by Kilonga-longa, a man from the coast whom I know, have established a station and are collecting ivory. Nothing is known here as to my own people (in Equatoria). Nor have I had any news whatever from Unyoro, although it is not far off. The lake is roaring like a sea and is covered with foam-crested waves; fishing sea-gulls are dipping the tips of their wings into the water and shaking off the spray, just as I have seen them on the shores of the Baltic. It is a far cry from there to the heart of Africa.

"CAMP OF RUMANDE, 18th May, 1891.

"I could not find time for writing till to-day. The day before, yesterday was fully taken up with the embarkation of loads and preparations for the march; but yesterday, after the

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last loads had been despatched, we were able to start at 8.25, after being delayed a little by heavy mist and rain.

"Turning our backs on the huts of Kiruwe, we passed up till ten o'clock through perfectly flat prairies; but our progress was frequently rather difficult, owing to the height of the grass. Instead of making straight for our destination, we went towards the hills by wide detours. But this is necessitated by the fact that several big arms of the lake reach far into the country and terminate in broad lagoons, partly muddy, partly clear, which we had either to cross or to avoid. Another stretch of prairie-land followed. Evidently this country was formerly covered by the lake, and if the latter rose to-day to the extent of a yard or two, the whole of this large plain would again be hidden by its waters. We next passed along the foot of the Wakondjo mountains, where many people came to greet us, some actually playing guitars. Then through banana woods, with scattered huts and fields, intersected by a great number of brooks, mostly muddy. The road dragged on, seemingly endless, in the scorching sun, and it was not till 3 p.m. that we came to the brink of the roaring lake. Here another difficulty had to be faced. The small river Tjalika is very deep, and at its mouth has deepened the lake as well, but fortunately the sand washed away has been thrown up in the lake in the form of a crescent-shaped bar, of which we could take advantage in crossing.

"It was quite enjoyable to splash about in the lukewarm water. At 3.5 p.m., after a good march of nearly seven hours, we pitched our camp here. We were kindly received by the people, who promised their boats for an early hour, and the local chief brought most acceptable and useful presents; viz., one huge basket filled with dried green bananas, another with maize, some bunches of good-sized green bananas and four bunches of exceptionally large ripe bananas, also a number of good eggs and a cow. I declined to accept this last, but the other dainties were much relished by men and beast.

"CAMP OF KIREMA, *May 22nd, 1891.*

"While here I was most pleasantly surprised by the arrival

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of twelve large boats sent me by Chief Mugali from the north-western corner of the lake. I at once loaded them with goods and men. Consequently we shall have only the ammunition and tent loads to take with us on our further march. At night the rain set in and continued without interruption till 9 a.m., so that on the 20th we could not start until after 9.

"It was a very fatiguing journey. First along the lake over coarse shingle and sand, having on our left, at the foot of the hills, a compact belt of tall reeds. Then we came to parts where the strip of beach, narrow enough at best, was blocked by masses of rock, over which we had to climb. In some places even this was impracticable, and we had to wade out knee-deep into the lake so as to pass round the rocks. In this way there was no lack of variety. At other times we went up the slope strewn with fragments of rock, and through banana plantations watered by numerous rills. Certainly the most unpleasant part of the road was where the tall grass concealed the fragments of rock lying in our path, or where the rain had washed the twelve-inch track away, generally in most precipitous places, and to such an extent that the greatest caution was necessary to avoid falling into the abyss below.

"The vegetation is most luxuriant everywhere, and sweetly-scented plants of every kind fill the air with their perfume. Two plentiful and very fragrant plants are a tall variety of basilicum and *Coleus barbatus*, strongly reminding me of guava. Colocasia, the tubers of which, in my opinion, furnish the best African vegetable, is grown everywhere, and assumes enormous proportions.

"We waded through several brooks and a small mountain torrent called Mpara, with splendidly cold water. Eventually, at 2.30, this climbing tour came to an end, and we pitched our camp near Kikere, a place belonging to the district of Vukenda, ruled by a chief named Mohuma, who brought us goats and bananas. Of course the people received presents from us in return, because in Africa, just as everywhere else, nothing is to be had gratis except death.

"At 5 a.m. on the 21st of May we were on our way again,

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and as even our tents and private goods had been sent on by boat, we could make good progress. But our gymnastic performances of yesterday had to be repeated to-day in a more complicated form, as our road lay mostly along the crest of the mountain that fell away steeply into the lake, whilst boulders were more frequent and considerably more difficult to pass. Now and then we crossed a rushing torrent—deliciously cold streams ; the water of the lake is warm and slightly brackish.

“About 11 a.m. we reached the village of Unyekore on the lake-side, where, hearing that the road beyond presented still greater difficulties and considering that the march over the mountain top would take very long because in some places the cliffs dip almost perpendicularly into the water, we took to the boats and made the rest of our journey by water. A splendid panorama was displayed before us during this trip ; just as on the west of the Albert Nyanza, the mountains here slant precipitously into the lake, and numerous cascades are among the chief ornaments of the landscape. The water, lashed to foam against the rocks, courses in silver streaks down their grey sides, which stand out brilliantly against a green background of dense foliage.

“The boats are large and spacious, but rather frail ; they are made of thin boards held together with banana ropes, and are partly punted, partly rowed with oars, which look more like flattened tooth-picks ; the first impression they make is not very reassuring. But one soon gets used to them, and as this lake, strange to say, is said to be free of crocodiles, an occasional immersion would not after all be very unpleasant. After a rather long trip, past numerous homesteads, we landed here at 2 p.m. ; unfortunately in a downpour which has scarcely stopped for a single hour. If we go on like this, my things will rot, and we shall lose everything ; I shall therefore have huts built in which to dry the things, and meanwhile I have sent for Chief Karakuausi, who is said to be in the neighbourhood.

“Everything has been laid waste here and pillaged by Kabrega's men, and to make matters worse Kilonga-lqnga's Manyema hordes have penetrated as far as this on a plunder-

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ing raid. The natives hold this crew of cannibals in horror, and flee from them as far as they can. I shall now be delayed several days, inspecting the goods and treating with Chief Karakuausi in reference to the further march. I do not like the place much, but our things must be dried.

“CAMP OF KIREMA, 24th May, 1891.

“Two days have passed here with diluvial rain, and instead of drying, all our things are rotting, even the erection of huts being of little avail. But we must do our utmost to get the things in proper order, as we have still a long journey before us.

“Meanwhile Chief Karakuausi has arrived, and with him a crowd of people. He fully deserves that I should devote a few lines to him, as he is of a somewhat uncommon type for Africa.

“Originating from Merimbi, on the southern bank of this lake, and really belonging to Njavingi's people, that is, being an Mpororo man, he came to Usongoro at an early age; settled down there and acquired great influence, but was expelled by Kabrega's people when they occupied Usongoro. He then took refuge in the Wakondju country, and later on in the Wawamba country; and although he possessed but a single rifle, he here gained influence in the same way as before, so that at the present moment he is, if not the most powerful, at any rate the most influential chief along the whole southern and western side of the lake, to whom all the others look up as to their superior. About a year ago, when Kilonga-longa's Manyuema men, already referred to (we came across them with the Stanley expedition in the Wawamba country and exchanged a few shots with them), extended their predatory raids to this lake, the Usongoro people, who had been driven out of their homes by Kabrega's men, thought they might get help from them, and went with them as far as Katue, the chief place of Usongoro, where the Manyuema looted salt and cattle. On the march back, however, the Manyuema turned against their allies, killing many of them and promptly devouring them. Karakuausi only saved himself by a gift of ivory, and since then has of course

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been the sworn enemy of the Manyema. I consider him a kind of Mirambo on a smaller scale, unable of course, in this out-of-the-way corner, to rise to the position of the well-known ruler of Urambo.

"If we could only have two days' sunshine!

"CAMP OF KIREMA, *27th May, 1891.*

"At last everything is ready for a start; the loads have been reduced and newly packed, rations and presents have been issued to the men, and all has been got shipshape, as the English say. We have a good piece of work behind us. If the native porters promised for to-morrow duly come, we shall get off early; if not, we shall throw away a few more things, and start a little later.

"CAMP OF KASAVO, UKONDJU, *28th May, 1891.*

"Although the weather was fine, no natives put in an appearance early this morning, and it was 9 a.m. before we had some thirty together.

"About 10.30 I therefore directed Dr. Stuhlmann to go on ahead with our men and these natives, while I myself stayed behind with a few men in order to get the rest away. After much urging, sufficient porters were procured by 11 a.m., and at 11.10 I left Kirema, heartily glad to proceed.

"Passing through banana woods full of luxuriant undergrowth, and across a few foaming mountain torrents, we soon reached the bank of the lake and for a long time followed its contour, sometimes marching in the water, sometimes between tall reeds very unpleasant to pass through. It seems to me as if we have arrived just at the end of a period of drought, and that the lake is gradually rising again. I gained the same impression at Wichumbi, at the southern extremity of the lake.

"The weather was fine, the blue lake foaming and roaring, the plants exhaling their perfumes, and thus the march was pleasant, though somewhat hot, but this was counterbalanced to some extent by the footpath in the lake.

"At 11.50 we turned our backs on the lake for the rest of the day, and directed our steps along the hills, passing a

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number of banana plantations, now deserted, in which we had to force our way through the rank undergrowth. At the same time we admired whole tracts of blossoming *Canna indica*, which thrives well here and the brilliant red blossoms of which always delight the eye.

"We crossed several rushing torrents, one of them falling from the hills in a pretty cascade, and about 2 p.m. we reached this place, where we camped, at the foot of the Kinjamkoro mountain, having before us a pretty view over the lake ; but nothing is to be found in the way of food, as everything has been taken.

"We are told that to-morrow we shall find sufficient food for our men at Kisadjo, close by, from which place we are supposed to reach Karakuausi's village in two short marches, after which five days' march will take us to Tenge-Tenge.

The Country of the Wakondjo

"CAMP OF KISADJO, 29th May, 1891.

"WE started rather early, but the caravan did not keep together long, as the hired porters, though fine young fellows, stopped every moment to rest, thus causing great delay. On such occasions we learn to appreciate the great value of the trained porters from the East Coast, whether they are Wanyamwesi or actual coast men.

"The road, too, was rather bad. Tall, dense grass closely interlaced and interwoven, occasionally acacia woods full of prickly bushes and undergrowth (although the latter is rare), then again brooks and muddy streams, all of them unpleasant obstacles to one's progress. Natives were nowhere to be seen. The soil is very good, and should be very fertile ; the land is well watered, and all that it needs is protection for the labourer, and peace.

"The population of the Wakondjo tribe are of a good and peaceful disposition.

"At 8.15 a.m. we again turned into hills, ascending rather slowly, as it was scorchingly hot and the natives rest

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every few moments. After crossing a small plateau covered with acacia bush, we descended into a caldron, the bottom of which is intersected by three brooks, and well cultivated. But even here not a soul was to be seen. It was not until we had climbed the opposite side of the hollow and commenced our descent towards Kisadjo, that we caught sight of a few armed men, and then only far off on the heights. We went deep down on a rugged path, and after passing a few huts, proceeded through bananas and across a brook hidden on either side by dense belts of reeds lining its banks ; we are now camping in a very pretty spot on an open level between bananas and fields.

"For a considerable time past we had noticed that some of our cloth and beads were being stolen, and while the goods were being dried in our camp at Kirema things got so bad in this respect that it became necessary to make an example. At 5 p.m. I therefore held a roll call. Three men were called to the front and degraded, a month's pay to all soldiers was stopped, and the foremen of the porters, besides losing a month's pay, were ordered to carry loads themselves for a fortnight by way of further punishment. The men were further warned that if the least thing was found missing in future, another month's pay would be stopped. The result was general consternation and humiliation. I trust the lesson will prove effectual."

Emin arrived at Muheri on the 30th of May, 1891, after a tedious march ; at Butuku on the 31st, where the camp was pitched on the storm-swept height, and where he had some difficulty with his porters, as they were accused of pillaging the huts of natives. Elephants were frequent there.

On the second of June he arrived at the river Taliha, and at the eastern bank of the Isango on the 3rd of June. He was marching due north, and had to cross many marshy brooks. The above river is identical with Stanley's Semliki but Emin gives the local name. He crossed it further north. They camped on the river, as Emin was anxious to boil his thermometer to determine the altitude, for he says that Stanley's altitudes are too high. He was not, however, quite satisfied with his result.

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“On the 4th of June Karungu was reached, and he noticed the people there sometimes carried their baskets on their backs like the woodland tribes, with a strap passed round the forehead to hold them in position.

Ben Balu was reached on the 5th, Karevia on the 6th.

“CAMP AT KAREVIA, *9th June, 1891.*

“To-day I can breathe more freely, and I will therefore continue my narrative. First of all I may say, in explanation of our recent journey, that as a matter of fact our way should have lain west of the river towards the north, but we were impelled by a desire to examine, at least superficially, the interesting fauna and flora of these mountains, which are not likely to be explored by any one else for some time. For this purpose I established a camp here, at an altitude of 3,800 feet above the level of the sea, and Dr. Stuhlmann started yesterday, conducted by native guides, and accompanied by a sufficient number of men, in order to reach the snow-line, camp two or three days there, collect all he can, and return again.

“The expedition will then return across the river and resume its march, passing through the Nyam-Nyam countries to the Cameroons on the West Coast. Meanwhile I am left behind in charge of the camp, as befits the senior; I am past my working time, and willingly make room for younger and abler men.

“Our camp is close against the mountains (Ruwenzori), rising summit on summit up to the snow-capped giants. Up to a considerable altitude they are covered with dense woods, and intersected by ravines through which torrents of icy water are rushing and foaming; one of these, called Gutagu, flows close to our camp, forming its western boundary.

“On our way here we crossed the road taken by us with Stanley two years ago and which now lies beneath us. We have quickly settled down here, establishing a shed for the protection of the goods and huts for ourselves and our men, for it is cold up here. Strange to say, here, as elsewhere, the men suffer to some extent from intermittent fever: a

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consequence, no doubt, of the sudden change from scorching heat to the damp cold up here, bearing in mind that they are inadequately clothed. A little quinine, of which otherwise I am not in favour, as a rule effects speedy improvement. I have no other sickness to report, apart from slight bodily injuries; in fact, the state of health of this expedition has always been very satisfactory.

"We are on very good terms with the natives. The camp is always full of visitors, who willingly lend a hand and bring up materials for building huts, such as grass, reeds, rods, and wood, as well as fibre. In this way the work proceeds apace, and a fairly large hut is easily built between morning and night. Everywhere we hear reports of a long-continued drought, which tallies perfectly with my experiences and information collected elsewhere; it appears that in Central Africa periods of drought are of regular occurrence, followed by periods of increased moisture; long-continued observation will be required to determine the length of these periods.

"But one fact of great importance is certain. The quantity of water in Central Africa, as far as I know it, is decreasing, and the very wettest periods are not capable of completely replacing what has been lost during the periods of drought. Thus a gradually increasing deficiency arises, which cannot fail to cause great changes in the economy of nature. I take a special interest in such observations, and am always glad to listen to the accounts of the natives as to how some place now covered with water was formerly the site of fields and plantations, or *vice versa*. Like a medical man examining the pulse of a patient, we are here brought face to face with the pulsations of the ever-restless body of the earth.

"At the moment I am investigating the question of the volcanic nature of these mountains, but I dare not form any definite opinion until I have seen the mineral specimens which Dr. Stuhlmann is about to bring with him from the mountains. I formerly collected smoky topazes here, and the natives collect rock crystals, which they imagine to be petrified rain and which they sell as a charm for rain to

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such remote parts as Karagwe. They are also made up into cones for insertion in the lips as an ornament for women.

• "CAMP OF KAREVIA, 11th June, 1891.

"After establishing my camp, I had first of all to see to the food supply, as my men could not do without food, and the natives scarcely brought anything for sale. My men were guilty of excesses and several cases of wounding occurred, so I took their arms away from them, and have had no trouble since. Unfortunately the natives are exceedingly shy and reserved, although no one interferes with them. The reason of this fear is simply to be found in the treatment hitherto experienced by them at the hands of strangers who have settled in the neighbourhood. I wrote you on a former occasion that quite close to the Wawamba country, in the region of Chief Mbene, there is a settlement of Manyuema, who not only pillage the whole neighbourhood, but also carry on systematic slave raids, and at the same time indulge their cannibal instincts, being on this account detested by all the negroes in the district. I have repeatedly had to do with these Manyuema since our arrival. They have dared to sell slaves to my men, and in this way some of the goods stolen from us have come to light; they have also ventured to induce men to desert. I should long ago have settled accounts with them, but as my further journey goes past their place I had to proceed with caution. To-day, however, I made other arrangements with the chiefs in the neighbourhood, so that I shall be able to find my way without any Manyuema guides. After this I at once confiscated all the slaves to be found here, a woman and two children, and punished both the seller and the purchaser. The local chief, Tenge-Tenge, has so far behaved rather coolly, and not even induced his men to sell us provisions. Of course the present which he is to receive on our departure will be gauged accordingly; nevertheless, the Wakondjo are on the whole an affable and friendly tribe. I feel quite certain that they form a branch of the large family which includes the Wanyoro, Wanyakole, Wanyambo, Warinsa and other tribes; in fact, they themselves say that they

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derive their origin from Kitara or Kitwara, that is to say the large realm which once comprised all the above-mentioned people. It is true that their language exhibits a very strong admixture of foreign elements, as is almost invariably the case in border countries; nevertheless, two-thirds of the words are identical with pure Kinyoro words. The numerals and pronouns and other words in ordinary use are borrowed from the Wawamba language, that is to say the tongue of the people who were driven out by the Wakondjo and who are still their next-door neighbours.

"The Wakondjo, or at least some of them, have also adopted one bad habit from these neighbours, viz., that of filing their upper incisors so as to point them—an ugly and disfiguring custom. After all, the term 'bad habit' is perhaps too hard; it is only a question of fashion; and as negroes are exceedingly conservative, such fashions die hard.

"By way of enriching your African lore, I may inform you that among the Wakondjo the bridal price—that is to say, the purchase price which the bridegroom has to pay to the father of the bride—amounts to from thirty to fifty goats; and should there be any lack of such, each goat may be replaced by five iron spades, which, considering local conditions, is dear enough. The Wakondjo women are not exactly pretty, being mostly small, corpulent figures, of a complexion verging on amber, and which might probably be a few shades lighter if they were to wash themselves clean. Their clothing is limited to a kind of loin-cloth made of bark material and a few bracelets and anklets of plaited straw, supplemented, in the case of the well-to-do, by bracelets and anklets of iron and brass, and among the rich by some glass beads. I sometimes saw men wearing ear pendants of metal. As regards arms, I particularly noticed the bows and arrows of Tenge-Tenge's men, because they tally as to shape and size exactly with those used by the Akka (dwarfs) in Monbuttu, that is to say, they are ridiculously small for the people here. The arrows, which are poisoned, are also without metallic points, but all wood and reed; all arrows are feathered at the end. One frequently observes fairly large knives in sheaths, which also reminded me by their shape

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of those seen in the West. The clay vessels in use here are only of very common shape, but the pipe-bowls made by the men are peculiarly formed.

"To-day Tenge-Tenge quite unexpectedly brought me five goats as a present; unfortunately, I felt under the necessity of refusing to accept this present of friendship, as having come very late, and requested him to let me buy my requirements as hitherto. I could have done with the goats, but I wished to show the gentleman that I am well versed in negro etiquette, as it is a widespread belief among negroes that no social forms need be observed towards white men, while in the case of negroes ceremonial customs are exceedingly complicated and most carefully carried out.

"To these serious matters I may add a little of a comic nature. I have again gone without dinner to-day, that is to say, I have made my meal of a cup of tea and two bananas, as I found the meal which I was expected to consume quite uneatable. To-night I shall be my own cook, and shall have soup, goat's flesh with colocasia and roast meat with bananas; a menu by no means to be despised.

"CAMP OF KAREVIA, 13th June, 1891.

"This is a day which deserves to be specially noted, because I have secured the first mole I ever met with in Central Africa. As far as I am aware, although golden moles from South Africa as well as from Mozambique are known, no one has ever yet obtained any such animal from these countries, and whatever has been hitherto written on the subject always referred to *Georhynchus*. I am all the more pleased at my find, in spite of the fact that the animal gave me a nasty bite.

"CAMP OF KAREVIA, 16th June, 1891.

"Yesterday morning Dr. Stuhlmann returned safely from his mountaineering expedition, and brought back with him a veritable treasure of photographs, geographical surveys, notes on geology and the mountains, plentiful botanic collections, and some zoological specimens. According to a preliminary calculation made by me from the boiling point and aneroids, he attained an altitude of about 12,300 feet,

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and approached the snow-fields within 200 yards or so ; but he had to desist from further approach, because the men could not bear the cold, and commenced to suffer from giddiness as experienced at high altitudes (humming noise in the ears, bleeding, etc.). Nevertheless, Stuhlmann may be well satisfied with his success ; and if we can get the botanical collection safely home, Schweinfurth will rejoice. When the Stanley Expedition was camping at the foot of these mountains, Lieutenant Stairs brought with him a number of plants from the mountains, which I undertook to classify. These, being some thirty species, including tree-like ferns and erica, etc., have now been supplemented by nearly seven times as many, including a kind of *Rhynchopetalum* (lobelia), hitherto known only as existing in the high mountains of Abyssinia, a second erica, and a number of other rarities, and last, but not least, the *vaccinium* (Vacc. Stanley Schwf.) as found before. Ascherson wrote me saying I must have made a mistake, as no bilberries existed in this part of Africa ; well, they are now lying before me, and we have eaten some of them. A second kind of blackberry (*rubus*) was also included in the collection. Among seven birds collected for me, I observe two which appear to be hitherto unknown ; I shall describe them later on.

“The march, more especially over the mountain bogs, through mosses soaked with water as if they were sponges, over fallen erica trunks, and through bamboo forests, must have been very trying at a temperature varying between 2° C. in the early morning and 9 to 10° C. at 2 p.m.”

The Rusimi brook was reached on the 19th of June, and they camped in the forest near Vekira on the 20th.

“CAMP IN THE FOREST, 21st June, 1891.

“Five hours of very toilsome march brought us here, where we had to camp, our people being exhausted, and the nearest villages said to be some considerable distance off. However attractive the African forest may be, and especially to me, marching through it is most laborious. The trunks of the trees rise up to an enormous height, and do not spread out their branches and foliage until after attaining a consider-

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able height; uncommonly thick trunks, such as I found in Monbuttu, are rare here, but frequently the trees, which after all are fairly stout, are stayed by the well-known 'wings' of the roots. The undergrowth is excessively profuse and vigorous, *rubiacæ*, *acanthus*, *amomum*, *caladia*, and other *aroidæ*, many with red fruit, enormous ferns, both tree ferns and other varieties standing above a man's average height, interlaced with creepers and tendrils, varying from the thickness of a thread to that of a cable, a regular trap for the foot of the unwary wanderer. And then the most unpleasant of all the forest plants in these parts, viz., the rattany cane, with prickly stems and barbed leaves, has a particular predilection for extending across the track. And as if all this were not enough, there are swarms of very large flies resembling the South African tsetse, that sting badly, also innumerable small bees, stingless, but having a particular tendency to creep into the corners of one's eyes or nostrils. On the other hand, there are very many beautiful butterflies, not the large and wonderful Brazilian species, but of a fair size, and prettily coloured. In the foliage above is heard the piping of grey parrots, the striking notes of the large varieties of *Buceros*, and the peculiar cry of *Korythaices*, and in the bushes the beautiful song of the *Bessornis* and the cooing of pigeons. Sometimes the back of the Guereza mountains is seen like a white fleece through the foliage, while the bark of baboons re-echoes from the mountains, but on the whole few animals are seen in the forest. A characteristic feature is the absence of palms. Nevertheless, the fauna is surprisingly rich and rare, and beautiful forms are found in abundance.

"Our camp is pitched in the midst of a very dense part of the forest, and it is so dark that I can scarcely write; only a small patch of sky is visible.

"CAMP OF KIVIRIRI, 22nd June, 1891.

"Our further march through the wood was just as arduous as yesterday. We waded through five fairly large brooks, the last of these being the Ruami, on which we camped with Stanley, rather more than half a mile above our present

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halting place, and whence Lieutenant Stairs made the attempt to ascend the snow-capped mountains.

"Late at night I was informed that the Wawamba intended to attack us."

Among the Wawamba

"CAMP AT WANWEHSE, 23rd June, 1891.

"I HAVE only just arrived, at 5.46 p.m. Chief Muiraguru took every possible pains to help, but he had not sufficient men, and it was noon before I could leave, and follow the main body of the expedition, which started at an early hour.

"Twice in the course of the morning marauding Wawamba had showed themselves, to the alarm of the few men I had with me. Just about noon about 200 of these appeared, in full war-paint,—that is to say, with blackened faces and branches of creepers and leaves tied about their bodies, and holding their bows and arrows ready. When asked what they desired, they declared they wished to pick up any glass beads we might drop; and when we laughed at this story, they said they wanted to be informed of our intentions. I invited some of them to approach more closely, and when they declined for fear of our rifles, I caused my men to stand back, and, accompanied by an interpreter, went right into their midst. We were soon good friends, and after half an hour's conversation they departed, promising to come to-morrow.

"At 3.23 p.m. I started, accompanied by Chief Muiraguru and some of his men, and we again had a very arduous march through woods, alternating with tracts of high reeds which are equally unpleasant. There were some steep ascents and descents, and four or five small brooks which had to be crossed. When we arrived, Dr. Stuhlmann informed me that he too had been nearly embroiled with the natives on his arrival, but he had averted any outbreak of hostilities by a

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conciliatory attitude. I now negotiated with the local chief who was present, and received a good many promises, but in these I have no faith. Muiraguru declared that he and his men did not know the way beyond this place.

“CAMP AT SSATA, 24th June, 1891.

“As negotiations were probable, it fell to my lot to take the lead to-day, and at 7.27 a.m. I was on the way with the whole caravan, while Dr. Stuhlmann waited behind with the remainder of the baggage until I should send him porters from the camp. Of course the auxiliary porters promised us by the chief did not arrive, and the chief, too, had disappeared. I therefore made Muiraguru give me a man to act as guide, but soon found that he knew less about the road than myself. Descending from the hill through tilled land, we at once entered woods again, so thickly interlaced with undergrowth that we had great difficulty in penetrating it. We thus proceeded until 8, when we saw before us a hill with huts on it, where we might hope to find people.

“Suddenly a voice was heard from the roof of one of the huts shouting that we should go back, our way lay further east; we had no business here, and the people would attack us. While a reply was given, to the effect that we had no evil intentions, I with some Soudanese ascended the hill, but found ourselves in front of a gate barricaded with blocks of wood, this being the entrance to the village. In a moment the blocks were removed, and we entered the village, which was completely deserted, but on all sides horns and war alarms resounded. I made one of the men ascend the roof of a hut and call out to the natives to cease making needless noise, and to send one or two men to negotiate with me.

“Meanwhile the porters had assembled in the village, and a very old grey-headed blind woman was brought out from one of the huts, trembling in every limb. While I was trying to calm her and elicit some news from her, a sturdy man approached, with a lance in his hand, and desired to speak to me. He was the son of this woman, brother of Chief Banjombe, who lived a little distance away; he grinned at me in such a friendly way that I grinned too, and we both burst

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out laughing, and so became friends, and he agreed to be my guide. Such are the negroes, veritable children!

"At 8.45 I proceeded with my new guide and came to a part of the forest which I am glad to have passed. Had we been attacked there, we should have fared badly. I am also glad that, though getting old, I am still equal to several hours' arduous marching on foot. The wood was followed by reeds, so thick that to lose one's way in them would be certain death to a stranger. We passed two fairly large watercourses, had two awkward slippery climbs, and reached this small village at 10.29, where I stopped and sent the porters back. The people here are Wandugoie, a tribe of the Waramba, apparently cannibals.

"CAMP AT KITOME (*Chief place of Butalinga*),

"25th June, 1891.

"Last night I had a welcome visitor in the son of Chief Bukoko; he rules the whole of Butalinga, and brought his sick father's kind regards and an invitation. It then turned out that I was among old acquaintances, both father and son having seen me in Stanley's camp of Butama, where they came with the Manyema. These latter have happily now departed, after having completely despoiled the country. Of course this news greatly facilitates my advance, and I therefore let Dr. Stuhlmann precede me early in the morning, while I remained behind with the baggage until the porters came for it at noon.

"Meanwhile I had many visitors, but could not obtain much information, for they refused to give any particulars as to the country, saying that they must leave that to their chief. I was therefore glad to get away, and, although it was very hot, we went at a good pace through stretches of beautiful shady forest trees, pervaded by the perfumes of various flowers and alternating with tracts of tall troublesome reeds, the edges of which cut like razors. Of course all of us had our hands and faces much scratched and cut, and suffered from the irritating rash on legs and hands which long marches through grass invariably cause. On the whole the men hold out wonderfully well, and I have but few sick among them.

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• "At 5.18 p.m., after passing several large villages, the gates of which were not barricaded, we arrived in this rather large village, where all huts had been evacuated, but about a hundred natives came and mixed with our men. I at once sent for Chief Bukoko, who arrived accompanied by about 100 armed men with song and music, and brought two goats and some bananas. We were soon good friends, and when he left at sunset he had promised me porters, guides, etc.

"To-day we again saw the snow-fields.

"DAY OF REST AT KITOME, 26th June, 1891.

"My men have well earned a rest, and, as the country is a *pays de cocagne* (land of plenty), they are regaling themselves. I have brought my negotiations to a successful termination, and made Bukoko happy with presents. He also asked me for medicines, and is so well pleased at our intercourse that he has offered to accompany me himself to the river, which is only two days' march from here.

"Mbogo is said to be four days' journey from there, and from Mbogo to Undusuma is four or five days' journey, and there my old province commences !

"I am surrounded by a dense crowd of natives, who do not look by any means inviting with their curly hair-dress, their faces and bodies anointed with soot and castor oil, and perforated lips into which brass pins are inserted.

"By way of enhancing their personal charms, they have a custom of removing their eyebrows and eyelashes, filing off their incisors so as to come to a point, and wearing small pointed Napoleons and quite an arsenal of iron rings round their necks. But they are very honest and friendly, not wanting in intelligence ; and however much they may fight each other, and probably also eat each other, they are very amiable towards us. They are not very courageous, but prefer to shoot their poisoned wooden or barbed iron arrows from a safe ambush—regular men of the wood ; as such they should be good huntsmen, but this they are not, for they are afraid to attack elephants, which are very numerous here, and they told me they considered the chimpanzees too dangerous opponents to meddle with. In that respect our Nyam-Nyam people are of different

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mettle! Chief Bukoko much reminds me of Rionga of Fauvera (long since dead), owing to the mildness of his manner, his predilection for making speeches, and his quiet mode of talking. Why is it that I alone, among all those I knew, am still a rolling stone?

“CAMP AT KITIMBA, 28th June, 1891.

“ . . . The evening slowly arrived, and we were just about to bake a few green bananas in hot ashes to serve as dinner and supper combined, when at 6.30 p.m. the porters arrived by whom Dr. Stuhlmann had very kindly sent my bed, provisions, and lamps, as well as a trunk. This was help in need, and, but for the blood-suckers, things would have been comfortable enough. I could not put up my bed, as the huts were too narrow; I therefore managed with the large chair and slept as best I could, and enjoyed the frog-like croaking of some large-sized bats which came to visit me. Just picture in your mind, in addition to this, the weird illumination of the place by large fires round which the men were lying, the uncanny noise of the owls and the distant trumpeting of elephants, and you will to some extent realise the situation, which was further enhanced by a number of large rats jumping over my feet.

“CAMP AT KITIMBA, 29th June, 1891.

“I am once more condemned to idleness. Dr. Stuhlmann left here with the men at 6.30 a.m. for the river, which he will reach to-day or early to-morrow and cross at once, as I have had four negro boats got ready there. He will then send the porters back to me, and I shall proceed with the remainder of the baggage (thirty-five loads, my tent and my own things). So I have to wait here to-day and to-morrow, and am amusing myself with all sorts of useful occupations, such as mending defective cases, studying birds, roasting coffee, and sponging my hands with carbolic acid solution, as the blood-sucking flies, which unfortunately are assailing us here, have caused a rash so irritating that it gives me no rest either day or night, my face, neck, and hands being covered with large pustules, and my men are in the same predicament.

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• “Here also the people are very amiable, and bring us water and render themselves otherwise useful, but they refuse to carry loads ; it is absolutely ridiculous to see three or four of them dragging a load which one of our porters from the coast could easily carry for several hours. It is insufficiency of flesh-food (there are no cows in the forest district, and goats and sheep are few) that makes the people weak.

“After all, being idle and chatting with the negroes is not altogether useless. In the first place, a vocabulary I have compiled shows that the Wawamba language, at least the dialect spoken here, belongs to the Kinyoro group, that is to say, it is a Bantu language ; but among the Waramba there is another population, viz., the Wahoko, whose language is totally different, being no doubt purely negro. Consequently the question arises whether the Wahoko are the original inhabitants and the Waramba intruders, or whether on the other hand the Wahoko are intruders in the Wawamba territory, and if so, when and whence they came ? I shall try to decide these questions as far as possible. I say advisedly as far as possible, because the chapter of Central African migration of nations is an exceedingly difficult one, for the absence of any written records often leaves the investigator helplessly at the mercy of the most contradictory statements of the natives. However, there are exceptions even here. King Mtesa of Uganda gave me a list of his ancestors ; if I remember right there were thirty-three, who were supposed to carry back his genealogy to Noah’s sons. The responsibility for such nonsense, however, should not be attributed to him, but to those who put it into his head. Among the Nyam-Nyam princes traditions are found which reach back six or seven generations. But one has to be careful in these matters, as it often happens that the same man figures twice under different names.

“My waiting has had another good result : I obtained two birds hitherto only known in West Africa, a weaver (*malimbus*) and a cut-throat ; consequently the zone of their distribution is very considerably extended to the east.

“According to my collections, the limits of the West African forest region should be extended as far as the west

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side of the Victoria Nyanza, and include several islands in that lake. Should I ever again be in a position to undertake a scientific work, it would be zoo-geography, the distribution of animals in a horizontal as well as in a vertical sense, with regard to which I could supply valuable information. But probably this opportunity will never come.

"This country swarms with all sorts of ants, but for biting propensities they are all surpassed by the large black wood ants, which march through the country in closed ranks and emit a very nasty smell. The only other species approaching them in any way in this respect are the red ants, which build their barrel-shaped nests in trees and sometimes drop in a shower on the unlucky collector.

"CAMP AT BUNDEKA, *5th July*, 1891.

"The dwarfs, called here, as in Unyoro, Watva or Battua or Bateva, are indetical with the Akka of Monbuttu. I hear that they only left this region lately, when they heard of our coming, and they went north-west. The inhabitants are glad they have gone, because these dwarfs are feared here, like everywhere else, as robbers and sorcerers.

"CAMP ON THE BROOK MDUGU, *8th July*, 1891.

"I left Bundeka this morning with really an aching heart, as it was a most excellent centre for collecting. I captured a bird yesterday which will cause some excitement among ornithologists in Europe.

"Immediately after leaving the village and saying good-bye to the chief, who came to take leave and make a last attempt at begging, we re-entered the forest, which, however, proved a little more tractable, as there were not so many fallen trunks, but in place of these there were thorny creepers, in which we caught our clothes every now and then. But we did not long enjoy the nice cool shade, for after an hour and a half's march we entered a regular savannah with enormously tall thick grass, sometimes exceedingly sharp and cutting, making the undulating country look like a wide expanse of sea. Occasionally some borassus palms rose out of the midst of the grass, hung with unripe fruits and with a number of swifts

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flitting around them. Later on we also saw tall acacias and candelabra euphorbias ; these sufficed to characterise the district ; we had entered the savannah region, the Mboga, so-called to distinguish it from the forest called Kibire. Nevertheless, we still had to pass many outlying strips of the forest, and are again camping in it, but these are mere outskirts projecting into the savannah.

"CAMP AT BUGUNDA, 9th July, 1891.

"I was on my way again at 5.30. We were much disturbed during the night by elephants, and their trumpeting is no lullaby. The whole way here from the last camp was an exceedingly stiff march ; wood with very dense thorny undergrowth, through which you have to actually cut your way.

"The chief of Mboga has sent word to say that he will not avoid us, but will await our arrival. I am not certain whether in the language of Kabrega's men this signifies peace or war."

Chapter XXXVII

AGAIN IN KABREGA'S COUNTRY

"CAMP AT MBOGA, 11th July, 1891.

"DIRECTLY we had started yesterday morning (Dr. Stuhlmann having this time remained behind), it became apparent to me that the guides were leading us astray; but, as they protested that they were certain of their way, I followed them, and we marched over three hours in every possible direction, always through tall and very tiresome savannah grass, over hilly country which everywhere showed numerous traces of elephants.

"I permitted the men to take a little rest on the brook Muganako, but we were so badly attacked by large stinging flies that we were all glad to leave the low-lying district for the hills, where such pests are unknown. We went on for some time, passing two wretched villages said to belong to Mboga, and at last reached a footpath which, in my opinion, led to the neighbouring village of Kiriamo. The guides confirmed this, adding that they thought we might go there instead of to Mboga.

"Then, losing patience, I resorted to the *argumentum ad baculum*, and speedily induced them to turn off to the north, and conduct us in the right direction. Towards 1 p.m. we passed a group of splendid shady trees, which seemed to be a place of sacrifice.

"We now commenced the actual ascent, the guides having previously attempted again to lead us astray, only being induced to take the right direction by the application of my riding whip. I can quite understand the meaning of all this. When Dr. Stuhlmann went on ahead and announced our arrival

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no doubt the local chief of Mboga forbade the men, under pain of subsequent reprisals, to guide the white man through his village ; hence this hesitation.

"We had scarcely climbed the hills when a lively scene met our gaze. People were running away from some of the huts, men armed with rifles and carrying red flags appeared on the adjacent hills, and trumpets sounded. We were face to face with Kabrega's notorious Varassura (armed body-guard). My people had a good mind to fire, and the rascally pack were near enough for us to have a shot at them ; but, seeing that they did not fire at us, I preferred to advance and occupy the huts. As it was, we seized a flag and two war-drums. We established our camp on a neighbouring brook, having marched for seven hours and a half. Just opposite us on the chain of hills the enemy are collecting.

"While my men were getting the camp ready, I went with my dragoman to palaver with the enemy ; for a long time I made no impression, but at last one of them took courage and came to me, and I requested him to reassure his people. He promised to bring his commander early in the morning to see me, and the night passed quietly. On the hills we saw the watch-fires of our opponents, who probably feared an attack during the night. Early in the morning I had to send porters back to Dr. Stuhlmann, and I made a fortunate discovery.

"My bird-dresser, Hamis, formerly one of Mackay's servants, had relatives in this neighbourhood, and I therefore hastened to send him with a few small presents and the requisite instructions to try and find these relatives, and obtain information from them.

"About noon my friend of yesterday arrived, now dressed very neatly, and told me a great deal, saying that his chief was afraid to come, that he first of all demanded his flag and drums as a sign of peace, that he would find me guides and not molest me in any way, that provisions would be brought for me to buy, etc. Of course I am too well acquainted with Wanyoro tricks not to see through these manœuvres ; they hope to detain me by talk so as to gain time to inform the head Chief Irete, an acquaintance of mine ; then we shall be

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attacked. My friend therefore received a small present, and was dismissed with many kind words ; of course his chief, Kahigruaki, never intended to come near me.

"Towards night Hamis returned. He had been closely questioned. They told him they knew very well who I was, and asked him whether Casati were with me. He was also told that Kabrega had long ago been informed that the 'Wadutshi' (Germans) were coming and devastating everything. He had therefore sent here all the men he could spare to assist Irete against these villains. They did not suspect me of any evil intention, as I was known to be a friend of Kabrega's, but they were disquieted by our practice of marching in two detachments. Irete expected us on the river bank, but we entered the country as it were through a back door, and he was therefore holding himself in readiness with all his men in his principal village of Mboga.

"Whatever may be true or exaggerated in this report, we shall no doubt meet with difficulties during the next few days. Probably our very next march, to the principal village of Mboga, on which I hope to start as soon as Dr. Stuhlmann arrives—that is to say, the day after to-morrow—will show whether we shall encounter hostilities and to what extent. Meanwhile palavers will continue, and of course nothing be brought for sale. I must give the Wanyoro credit for the strict discipline which obtains among them ; without a command from his superior, no one will move or speak. It is true, of course, that any infringement would be punished with immediate death.

"At 6.42 a.m. we had an earthquake ; the shock was slight, but the rolling, rumbling noise very marked. Earthquakes are not uncommon about Lake Albert, more especially in the neighbourhood of Kibiro, and are sometimes very violent. As a rule, however, they do no damage, as there are no brick houses. To those who wish to enjoy an earthquake in all its glory, I should recommend the western or north-western part of Asia Minor.

"SECOND CAMP IN MBOGA, 13th July, 1891.

"Dr. Stuhlmann arrived safely yesterday, but one of our

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porters, on going for a moment into the tall grass, was stabbed by Kabrega's men, and died shortly after. The whole day passed in useless negotiation and palavers. At last towards night two men came to see me, one of whom, to my surprise, spoke Arabic, and introduced himself as a relative of my former dragoman, Kisa. He brought me eggs and fowls, promised guides for my journey, and told me that my men had settled down on the Isle of Kasinye on the Albert Lake, that is to say four days' journey from here. I doubt whether all this is true, as Kabrega's men are past-masters in lying.

"At 7.15 a.m. I took the lead, compass in hand, and conducted my men into the tall grass, right across hills and fields surrounding isolated homesteads. Thus we advanced for about two hours, when suddenly rifle reports were heard in our rear. I at once ordered a halt, the goods were piled up, outposts told off, and I hurried back to see what had happened. I found that, while crossing one of the larger brooks, one of the men assisting a sick porter across, was shot in the back with an arrow by some one in the tall grass. The arrow was not poisoned, but the iron point had got bent in striking the vertebral column, and the extraction was painful. Of course the soldiers fired into the grass, but did not hit anybody. We then advanced, and at 10.30 arrived at a small deserted village, where I camped, and immediately sent men back to Dr. Stuhlmann, who might possibly have been molested after my departure."

Through Ulegga

"CAMP IN ULEGGA, 14th July, 1891.

"AT 1 p.m. all our men were assembled here. Dr. Stuhlmann had been vigorously attacked, but he extricated himself. Some of the men sustained contusions by spent bullets; unfortunately, a quantity of ammunition is always wasted in such encounters. The reconnoitring party had returned, reporting that there is a savannah in front of us,

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also a large brook to be crossed, whilst only Walegga hũts are to be seen. I shall bring up the rear to-morrow myself, so as to have a hand in it for once if there is any fighting. ,

"SECOND CAMP IN ULEGGA, 15th July, 1891.

"I arrived here at 2 p.m. with the rear guard, of course without having fired a shot. After the men had started, a number of natives assembled, making a great noise and sending a few Arabs across to us ; but it came to nothing, and I continued my march without being harassed any further.

"Hilly land covered with high grass, intersected by various small brooks ; on the slopes, scattered fields and homesteads ; to the left of us, forest, which comes quite close to this place : such is the landscape around us. Close by us are elephants' playgrounds, that is to say, places where they are in the habit of rubbing themselves and rolling about after a bath ; buffaloes too appear to be numerous, and parrots abound. Dr. Stuhlmann has taken another specimen of the horned-snake which I mentioned the other day.

"Our reconnoitring party has returned. At one and a half hour's distance from here they came across Stanley's route, but the natives everywhere shyly avoided them. We shall therefore reach the old track to-morrow.

"CAMP AT WIDINDA, ULEGGA.

"This day was not destined to close without a joyful surprise, though it is a Friday.

"I started at 11.30 a.m., crossing very hilly country, and reached this camp about 2 p.m. At 3 p.m. I had just sat down to dinner, when suddenly a man appeared and welcomed me with a beaming face—an old acquaintance.

"When I left the Albert Lake with Stanley, a Walegga chief named Bakaivuggo insisted on accompanying me with two of his men as far as the Semliki. Hearing that Europeans were coming, he sent this man to see who the strangers were. You may imagine the man's surprise when he found the Midgu (the name given to me in this region, signifying 'the bearded man') in person.

"I hear that my soldiers are really still there, under Selim

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Bey and Bachit Aga, so I shall see them again. The steamers are also still there, and the men expect me! I at once wrote a couple of lines and despatched the letter; it will arrive the day after to-morrow about noon at Bugombe, where headquarters appear to be at present. No doubt the people will come to meet me, and thus I may see some of them on the 20th or 21st.

"At Madjamboni, where I shall have to camp for several days, the future will be decided. If the men follow me, I shall keep to them and we shall not part any more; if they do not follow me or will have nothing more to do with me, I must leave them to their fate and go on with the expedition. A few more days will decide."

Old Acquaintances

"CAMP AT NJANGABO, *20th July*, 1891.

"I MEANT to be here to-day; I arrived yesterday afternoon, and saw my old acquaintance Madjamboni, chief of Undussuma, and his brothers Kato and Singoma (twins), and I at once sent a messenger to my former people, who are settled about six or seven hours east from here.

"On the 18th we camped at Budjungui, in Ulegga, and yesterday, leaving Dr. Stuhlmann behind, I took my men direct to this place,—a long march of over seven and a half hours. I am expecting Selim Bey or Bachit Aga to-day or to-morrow, to have a few hours' chat, and shall then go on.

"Madjamboni tells me that immediately after Stanley's departure, the soldiers came and camped here for about two months; they found the ammunition buried by Stanley, and marched off with it. They have now settled down near Kavali; are said to be growing much cotton, sorghum, and sesame; to have much cattle, and to be much addicted to drunkenness. A party is also said to have settled on the lake, on account of the salt which is got there. The steamers are said to have become unserviceable. Of course I shall not know anything definite until I see the men themselves. They are said to have lost many men recently on a predatory raid.

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Early this morning I sent men for Dr. Stuhlmann; he will probably be here to-morrow night. Meanwhile I am building huts for the baggage and for ourselves, as the rainy period has now set in. Our friends (?), the Manyuema, have made raids as far as this, and are now lying in the forest about ten days' march from here. The whole place is covered with tall, stinging grasses, and I could scarcely find a spot for my tent; in order to prepare a site, the men had to pull up the grass. It is by no means improbable that the people may be afraid to come to me; I shall certainly not go to them.

"CAMP AT NJANGABO, *24th July*, 1891.

"I have not been able to work or write for three days.

"On the 21st of July, about noon, I received a slip of paper from Selim Bey, asking for permission to enter our camp; half an hour later he arrived, accompanied by about forty soldiers and non-commissioned officers, also two officers and Mehemed Liver, the Circassian clerk; nearly all of them are dressed in skins, and look very much depressed.

"Almost at the same time, Dr. Stuhlmann arrived with our men and baggage. There was much questioning, and much to be told. Death has been busy, and fighting has decimated my old companions. You will readily understand that the men were glad to see me, but I damped their pleasure by declaring that I was neither connected in any way with the Egyptian Government, nor instructed by any one, but simply visited them as a traveller.

"Time soon passed as we mutually related our adventures, until at 7 p.m. last night they returned to their station. I gave the officers a few yards of cloth. My old storekeeper was to come to-day, but has not yet arrived.

"The huts are ready, and I shall let the men take a good rest before going on. We are all rather worn out, and need to recruit ourselves.

"CAMP AT NJANGABO, *29th July*, 1891.

"The days have passed busily and quickly. My former people come and go, telling me their adventures; I was particularly pleased to see old Hadje again, who, during my

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whole stay in Equatoria, was my factotum ; she has suffered much during my absence. Although at that time advanced in years, she was the neatest and cleanest of all my people, and she must have fallen on very evil days to come to me now in such a dirty condition. Of course I at once annexed her, and incorporated her in my household ; I have given her a fairly decent outfit, so that she already looks far more presentable. Auwad Effendi, the storekeeper, and Liver Effendi, the Circassian, have already settled here, and some of the officers have built huts for themselves. I shall therefore, no doubt, take with me a number of men from here ; but should not like too many, as I do not trust them. Of course they are profuse in their protestations and marks of devotion, but my experience has been too sad for me to be caught again. My own men look upon them, clothed as they are in skins, with a certain amount of contempt, and hold aloof from them ; this can only be to my advantage, and I am not sorry for it.

"In fact, I shall be glad to get away, as staying here is by no means pleasant. Next to the difficulty of obtaining provisions for such a large number of men, I have to cope with numerous slight cases of sickness among my people, and I am not very well myself, although my finger is healing up at last. There is plenty of work, but no fun. Tall grass prevents us from going about, and there is scarcely anything worth collecting. The negroes, that is to say the natives, promise to help me, but they do not bring anything, and on the whole the country is not a suitable locality for collecting natural-history specimens.

"CAMP OF NJANGABO, *5th August, 1891.*

"We are still tied to this dull spot, and although I have twice been ready to go, something always kept me back. Of course, among the men at the station (I have not yet been there, nor do I intend to go), the customary talk and intrigues are in full swing, and are scarcely likely to end before my departure. One party is in favour of joining me, and accompanying me wherever I go. Another party is against this and would like to induce me to take them to the coast and to Egypt, along the route by which I came here.

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“Of course some do not hesitate to circulate all sorts of rumours concerning my journey ; above all, it is said that the Khedive, angry at my having left the soldiers here and gone to the coast alone, had dismissed me in disgrace, and that I was now roaming about the country in order to find a place where I could settle. Such talk will always find willing ears, and no doubt it was a clever manœuvre to circulate the report.

“During the two years I have been absent, things have been going from bad to worse here ; aimless wandering to and fro ; mutual feuds and robberies ; struggles with the Mahdists and the natives have played sad havoc with the men, and death has reaped a rich harvest. Some of the soldiers, exasperated by the never-ending intrigues of the Egyptians, revolted and killed a number of them, but at the same time slew all the Khartoum people—most of them very honest fellows. Consequently things look very gloomy, and one must be a fool, as I am, to take an interest, in spite of everything, in people of this calibre. I must distinctly state again that I repeatedly and clearly explained to the men that I had no instructions whatever from any one to take them away from here or assist them, and that whoever wished to accompany me would do so on his own responsibility and at his own risk. Consequently no one, either here or elsewhere, will ever be justified in accusing me of making false representations to the men or exciting false hopes.

“Altogether fifteen men have hitherto joined us with their families, including eight armed and three unarmed soldiers, and one Soudanese officer ; the remainder being clerks, carpenters, and tin-smiths. I have now sent word to the remainder of those who are willing to come, that we shall leave next Monday, and that they should arrange how to follow us.

“Selim Bey, the commander, acted very stupidly, and then flatly declined to accompany us because he would only go to Egypt. However, he appears to have changed his mind, as he has now sent word apologising for having hitherto shown unwillingness to go with me ; he had been misled, but had now come to his senses, and would arrive in two or three

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days. He is welcome, as he will bring ammunition, of which I am running short. If, however, he expects a friendly reception, he is mistaken.

"How I am to get all these people away, and how I shall manage to feed them, pre-occupies and greatly puzzles me, for naturally they look to me as their chief."

The Equatorial Province since Emin's Departure

OF course Emin obtained a full account from his old acquaintances of what had happened since his departure from Equatoria. All that he now learned he dictated verbatim to his faithful travelling companion, Dr. Stuhlmann, who has communicated it in his excellent book, *With Emin Pasha into the Heart of Africa*. The present work would be incomplete if we did not at least repeat the most essential points of this information.

After Stanley's expedition had left, Selim Bey at once tried to establish communications with Emin; for this purpose he sent after him two Soudanese officers, one with thirty and the other with fifty men, in order to induce the expedition to wait. But they did not succeed in getting through Kabrega's country. One of the officers returned to Msvar without having accomplished anything, but the other, Sayid Aga, accidentally discovered the forty-two cases of ammunition buried by Stanley; these he appropriated, settling down in Stanley's former camp, and refusing to return to the north.

The fact that Selim Bey was continually conveying people from Wadelai to Kavali shows that he was in earnest as to leaving. But soon it came to open conflicts between Emin's former officers. First Fadl-el-Mula Aga, who had before been the ringleader of the malcontents, tried to seize the steamer, in order to take the people and join the Mahdists in Makraka. Fadl-el-Mula even succeeded in holding Selim and his adherents prisoners for a time, but they soon managed

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to break through to the south and join Sayid Aga in Stanley's old camp. The rumour of his find had reached the men in the north, and the troops there now demanded the surrender of the ammunition; a collision ensued, but finally they compromised the matter by dividing the ammunition.

Fadl-el-Mula subsequently retired further north, as he could not find sufficient food near the lake, and he established eight stations on the river. Selim's attempts to gather round him a number of soldiers sufficient to force his way to the coast proved futile; he only managed to get about forty men together.

Fadl-el-Mula was soon compelled to abandon his position. One day the Mahdists appeared in front of his station near Dufle. He was willing to surrender at once, but the soldiers resisted, and so successfully that the Mahdists were routed and lost their arms. Questions put to the prisoners elicited the fact that Fadl-el-Mula and other officers had long been negotiating with the Mahdists. A revolt now broke out; most of the officers were killed, also some of the officials. Fadl-el-Mula himself escaped. One of Emin's steamers, the *Nyanza*, and the boats were destroyed on this occasion; the *Khedive* for a while escaped, but subsequently became unserviceable, whilst her captain was killed. Fadl-el-Mula now settled down, with about seventy men who still held to him, on an island south of Wadelai. The remainder of the officers and soldiers fought their way through to Kavali, where they joined Selim Bey, who had meanwhile strongly entrenched his station.

When Emin was near the Albert Nyanza, the rich stores which were once at Wadelai and the other stations no longer existed. The ivory in particular, about 3,000 cwts., had been appropriated by Kabrega's Varassura, and partly made into small articles for ordinary use, partly burnt or thrown into the river. Also the ivory stored at Tunguru and Msvar had disappeared. The natives had retired, and the roads, once so safe, were again exposed to predatory attacks. The livestock had been totally destroyed by disease, whilst small-pox had repeatedly made great havoc among the men. Besides, many officers and men were killed by negroes, in the raids

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made from Selim's camp to procure cattle and other food. Consequently the number of Emin's former people south of the lake had greatly diminished, and their position was rather hopeless ; in fact, one might say they were merely tolerated by the natives.

Departure from Undusuma

AFTER this retrospect of the events in Equatoria, we will resume the thread of our story, following the letters sent by Emin to his sister. The next letter runs as follows :—

“BUCHESA CAMP AT GUNDULEI, 11th August, 1891.

“I am tired of the hesitancy and delay of my former people and the unreliability of some of their leaders, and, faithful to my word, I left Njamgabo yesterday, arriving here after a short march of about three hours.

“Chief Madjamboni, who has always shown himself friendly to me, but who thoroughly detests the people at the station, accompanied me here, subsequently returning home laden with presents. I also instructed him to send on any belated stragglers from the station, as I shall stay here three or four days longer, thus giving them a last chance. I do not know what will become of the people at the station. The natives all around are hostile to them ; they have nothing to eat ; they are unable to find their way by themselves ; the men sent to the lake have returned with the message that the soldiers who had settled there have left, no one knows where. Consequently the prospects are not by any means brilliant. After all, it does not concern me, and my route is sketched out for me. At any rate, I have some twenty men and their families with me, and this must suffice.

“CAMP OF UNDULUMA, RIGHT BANK OF THE

“DUKI RIVER, 18th August, 1891.

“Although I have not had much to do, I have felt disinclined to write for some days past. But you must not be

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angry with me on that account, as my eyes are failing from day to day, and altogether I have aged much during the last few weeks. In any case do not forget Ferida! I remained for four days at Gundulei, but to no purpose, and at last, when I saw that the men at the station still meant to remain there, I left on the 15th of August, being everywhere joyfully received by the natives. On the same day I passed through broad savannahs and reached the left bank of the Duki river, which here measures from 55 to 90 yards in width. Owing to the continual rain, I could not cross, and was compelled to build a bridge. This occupied the whole of the 16th and until noon on the 17th. Then the whole expedition crossed, and last night we pitched our camp here, where unfortunately we are again compelled to wait till we find men who understand the language and will enable us to negotiate with the Walumba, whose country is immediately before us, as we wish them to find boats to cross the Ituri river.

"If the weather were pleasant, this place would be very nice, as we are camping among hills, the river rushing past us below. Dark patches of forest extend into the savannah here, and the fresh green of some banana plantations contrasts strangely with the sombre hues of the forest. On the bank of the river we found *Pandanus* and a quantity of very pretty *Cycadææ* (*Encephalartus*), which seem to extend far east here. I have also found some pretty West African birds; will they ever reach Europe? Perhaps it may interest you to learn the present status of the expedition. It is composed as follows, viz.: our own expedition, 312 persons (177 men with 96 women and 39 children); Soudanese from my province, 182 persons (29 men with 72 women and 81 children), including many widows and their children; total number, all told, 494.

"CAMP AT UMBAMBA, MUANGA, 20th August, 1891.

"At last we are on the way again. A short march brought us here to-day from Undussuma, and we are now camping on the steep margin of a plateau sloping off towards the Ituri, from which the exceedingly interesting boundary line of the forest and the savannah is seen spread out as on a

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map. At last I have solved what has long been puzzling me, viz., the existence of the primeval forest west of the Albert Nyanza near Msongua, etc. ; it is an extension of this.

- The dark stretches of the forest, standing out in marked contrast to the savannah, look curious, and I can readily understand how it is that the natives of the grass-lands regard the dark forest and its mysteries with awe."

Chapter XXXVIII

IN THE VALLEY OF THE ITURI AND FURTHER NORTH

"CAMP IN THE FOREST ON THE LEFT BANK OF
"THE ITURI, 21st August, 1891.

"EARLY this morning we were confronted with a strange sight. Dense white mists enveloped the forest and the valley, and the woody heights stood out from the mist like islands. But in spite of cold and fog we were early on the way. Immediately after descending the plateau, we entered the forest, which is broken by the hill on which the small Wandedsama village of Bundenakarna lies, concealed amidst bananas. The porters kindly provided for us in the morning had at this place thrown away their loads and de-camped, and there I had to wait.

"After a good four hours' march over swamps, fallen trees, and through brooks, we at last reached the bank of the Ituri at 12.34 p.m., and then we had to fell trees in order to make room for our camp. The Ituri measures here about 50 to 70 yards in width and is 5 to 7 feet in depth; its waters look yellow, but have no very rapid flow.

"Chief Bilippi of Duki accompanied me here, but has now gone back, greatly to my regret, as none of us speak the Wa-wira idiom, and we must try to make ourselves understood by pantomime.

"CAMP ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE ITURI
"IN THE FOREST, 22nd August, 1891.

"A hard piece of work! From early at 5 till 1.45 p.m. we were engaged in getting the goods and people across the

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river, and we are now camping here until we have managed to arrange matters with the natives. They lent us a boat, which did very good service, and I hope we shall soon be good friends, provided that the dwarfs do not disturb the natives.

"CAMP ON THE BANK OF THE ITURI,

"23rd August, 1891.

"I have to-day been surprised and delighted by a rare visit; three dwarfs came to me, and, although they were rather shy and distrustful, I managed to reassure them to some extent. I made the interesting discovery that soldiers from Momfu have no difficulty in chatting with these pigmies, their language being apparently identical.

"My visitors were of fair complexion, bearded, taller than the dwarfs I had previously seen in Monbutt, and particularly ugly. Except for a small loin-cloth, they were completely naked, and they trembled with excitement and fear; throughout our conversation they held some magic roots firmly in their hands for protection. They received presents, and promised to return to-morrow. I mention this visit because the dwarfs are so shy that they have never before come to any European.

"CAMP AT BEJEBE, VILLAGE OF THE WANDEDODO,

"31st August, 1891.

"Although it may sound strange to you, it has been merely the darkness of the wood which prevented me from writing. At our various camping places we have always had to cut down trees to make room for our tents, and even then it was so dark that one could scarcely see to read. We have passed through the country of the Wandedsama, keeping to the bank of the Ituri, which forms some pretty falls near Karimbo, and we have fully enjoyed all the delights as well as all the discomforts of life in the forest.

"The delights are of a rather platonic kind, and are limited to the pleasure which the grandeur of nature will always arouse in man, while the discomforts, in the shape of mud and water, slippery climbs and descents, broken down and

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fallen trees, myriads of ants and small stinging flies, etc., are very real and practical. Sometimes hunger supervenes, as wide expanses are often totally destitute of population, and the plundering Manyuema have taken care to see that nothing eatable is left in the country.

"The forest is the paradise of the collector, and my collection of birds contains some veritable treasures; even frogs and insects are plentifully represented. We have also found many surprisingly beautiful things in the department of botany. Dr. Schweinfurth will be greatly surprised at the discovery of a citron fruit.

"I have not yet told you much about the inhabitants of these regions. They are Wawira, partly intermixed with Wahoko tribes. No doubt both are forest tribes, who, coming from the west or south-west, have advanced in an easterly direction, the Wahoko preceding the Wawira. Both speak different languages and are split up into innumerable small tribes, who, like the Scottish clans, bear the names of their ancestors; thus, for instance, the Wandedodo, *i.e.*, the sons of Dodo. On the whole fairly well-shaped, they disfigure themselves by filing their teeth, piercing their ears and lips, and by their curly head-gear. The women place a round plug of wood in the hole pierced in the middle of their upper lip, and as the aperture enlarges they substitute discs of wood, which gradually get to be as large as the palm of the hand. But frequently the thin band of flesh surrounding the disc breaks, forming a scar resembling a hare-lip, which is dreadfully disfiguring.

"Most of the villages are situated on small hills, forming islands in the dense forest, and are surrounded by a confused mass of fallen or cut trees, over which one has to climb. All around are plantations of maize, beans, tobacco, and bananas. As regards cattle, I have not even seen a goat, so far, and meat is so scarce that when I skin my birds the natives come begging for the bodies.

"We are now enjoying the sunshine, and are drying our damp things, as it was very wet in the woods. The donkeys are at last able to eat their fill, for in the forests there is no grass, but only bush and *lantana* or *anomum*, and conse-

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quently the animals had many fast-days. Riding them is out of question, the fallen timber quite preventing it.

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"CAMP IN THE VILLAGE OF MTSHANGO,

"1st September, 1891.

"We arrived here after a very arduous march through the forest, partly near the bank of the Ituri, and partly along the slopes of the hills which hem the river in on either side. The downpours of the last few days have converted the soil (which, strange to say, is red) into a thick paste, into which we sink ankle deep, while the slopes down which the water pours are so slippery that they afford no foothold. In addition to this, there is a chaos of roots, creepers, fallen timber, holes and traps.

"For the first time for many a day we again marched all together; nevertheless, the last stragglers did not come in till late, the road being so very bad.

"The huts of the village in which we are camping are low and small, walled in with the split wood of a *rubiacea*; the roofing consists of *lantana* leaves. The doors, forming the best part of the hut, are large smooth slabs of light red wood.

"I have seen but little of the natives; they are short set, with round heads and curly hair, into which red clay has been rubbed.

"Clothing is either absent or very scanty, and both sexes prefer an iron bracelet to the best cloth. Glass beads of all kinds are in great request, preference being given to large-sized ones. Of course there is no question here of any presents for us, as is the general custom elsewhere; the people have nothing themselves. My special friend, Apatano, the Wambuba chief, who has accompanied me here, but unfortunately can scarcely manage to make me understand him, has now gone out to search for bananas for us. Our stock of goats has long been exhausted, and we shall therefore be obliged to try vegetarianism pure and simple, pending better days.

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"CAMP AT WAKANGU, ATILPEI, 3rd September, 1891.

"I am told that, proceeding due west, we shall get *viâ*

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Adepiagua (forest) to Matahua-Ka-gudra, then *viâ* Wumbilisa to Apakavu, which place unfortunately is situated outside the forest in the grass land. There, the large river Luruge, is said to flow west, and the Momfu country to commence there; that is to say, the junction with Junker's and Casati's as well as my own field of labour would be reached. God grant we may reach there safely!

"CAMP AT WAKANGU, *4th September, 1891.*

"The result of all my trouble is that, owing to the boundless carelessness of my men, the Wambuba guides have deserted us, and we are left in the midst of the forest without any porters, and saluted at every step with arrows, shot by natives and dwarfs concealed in the bush. A woman while fetching water was struck in the heel by a poisoned arrow; a man was struck in the cheek by an iron arrow; in fact, no sooner do we enter the bush than we hear the whizz of the arrows through the air. At the same time no one is to be seen, and firing is sheer waste of powder. I therefore sent a detachment of thirty men six hours' journey ahead, and hope they will reach the grass land and return again to-morrow. I have also been myself down to the waterside, where most cases of wounding occur, but I could find no natives, and had to return without having accomplished anything. My wounded are getting on well, and I think with a little rest they will soon be restored.'

"CAMP ON THE ITURI, *7th September, 1891.*

"Three days of anxiety only resulted in our having to turn back, first retreating our steps, and then turning off round the hills and reaching the Ituri soon after noon, where we camped under bananas at a distance of ten minutes from the marshy bank of the river. I at once sent messengers to my old Wambuba friends, and am momentarily expecting their reply or arrival, assuming that they have not fled, which is quite likely. Within sight, about fifteen geographical miles away due north, there are some grassy hills, probably lying outside the forest region. I will first march there, and then attempt again to go due west. My wounded are progressing

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favourably, to my great delight. The Manyuema have extended their predatory and slave raids to this part also, and devastated everything, and we have to bear the consequences, being everywhere received with distrust, and frequently avoided altogether.

"Our men have just returned with three natives. I have persuaded them to exchange blood-brotherhood with some of my men, so that the latter may no longer be in fear of their lives. Now one of them is going back to try and bring the Wambuba chief, who was on the other bank of the Ituri, here to-morrow; the other two will remain with me as hostages.

"CAMP ON THE ITURI, 8th *September*, 1891.

"Instead of the Wambuba chief, the Wandedodo chief, with whom we are acquainted, has come; unfortunately we can only communicate with him by signs. He left again at once to bring the Wambuba to us; and as two of his men are with us as hostages, I do not think he will deceive us.

"CAMP ON THE ITURI, 10th *September*, 1891.

"I am almost ashamed to write it—we are still here. All our efforts have met with little success, as the Wambuba are afraid to come. Meanwhile, the Wandedodo chief has sent me his son as a kind of hostage for his sincerity, with a message to say that he will bring Wambuba to-day.

"We seized one of the Apasinda (Wambuba), and he has now gone ahead with my men to show them the place for our next night-quarters. We have also found two goats, so that in an emergency our retreat across the river is assured. The Wambuba are strange specimens of humanity, from four feet nine inches to four feet eleven inches in height; that is to say, almost dwarfs. They doubtless represent either a mixture of, or a form of, transition between dwarfs and other negroes. They resemble the former in build, but their skulls are less protuberant at the eyebrows, and their skin is less hairy; they are just as shy as the dwarfs."

● "CAMP AT APASINDA, 11th *September*, 1891.

"Having crossed the river at 7 a.m., we are camping in a

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small wretched village, where we have obtained a little green maize and plenty of bananas. I am going on ahead to reconnoitre the road as soon as the customary thunderstorm is over ; just now the rain is pouring.

"I am told that there is an affluent of the Ituri, further on, called Kakuli ; it runs from the east and is fordable, whereas the Ituri was between fifty-five and seventy yards wide at the place where we crossed it, and from five to seven feet deep. It is flanked on either side with hill-chains covered with thick forest. Wherever a ray of sun can penetrate, many pretty butterflies may be seen disporting themselves. They are so tame that they settle in twos and threes on one's hand.

"As soon as the last boat, in which by the way I was sitting, reached the opposite bank, a number of natives appeared between the bushes on the bank we had just left ; so they must have been quite near all the time. The reflection is not a pleasant one when one thinks of their little noiseless arrows. At any rate they have done nothing so far, and I presume I shall not be disturbed here either.

"I have now sent men to parley with them, but expect they will simply hide themselves and give no reply. My anticipation has been verified—the natives vanished, and we are again left to our own resources. But what surprises me is, that the son of the Wandedodo chief, though quite at liberty, still keeps with us, and does not run away."

To Andebali

"CAMP AT APOCHOKUA, 12th September, 1891.

"**L**AST night I sent the son of the Wandedodo chief back to his father, and contented myself with retaining as guide the old Wambuba whom our men brought in two days ago.

"The natives, both dwarfs and Wambuba, certainly resemble monkeys more closely than men, and would afford splendid material for observation to the scientists at home.

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• “We started at an early hour, and had a very tiring march through the forest. At 9.45 a.m., after ascending a hill, we came out of the forest and went into the tall reeds, such as are always found here at altitudes exceeding 3,000 feet, occasionally varied by old banana and sweet potato plantations, and a few large deserted huts, some showing traces of fire and others marks of warfare.

“After another quarter of an hour’s progress, we found the whole caravan awaiting us. Dr. Stuhlmann had met some natives in the neighbourhood, and was trying to induce them to come to us. After exercising a great deal of patience we succeeded, and are now on friendly terms with them; they have promised us guides as far as Ikiro, two or three days’ march from here. They are men of the Wadsako tribe of the Wadumba, and probably are a branch of the Wawira or Wakoko, but speak a peculiar language of their own.

“Our monkey-like guide has behaved very well; he is going with us as far as Ikiro; he is always begging for tobacco. There is really no food to be had here, for the Wambutti—that is to say, the dwarfs—completely ransacked the country not long ago, and the people are in terror of them.

“To-morrow we go due north, and I understand that we have no more large tracts of forest before us.

“I have been rather annoyed by two incidents: a porter from the coast, who was carrying a load of cartridges, deposited it by the roadside and decamped with his rifle and ammunition; also a Suaheli soldier, after having robbed a guide, deserted for fear of punishment, and took his rifle and cartridges with him. He was a professional thief.

“CAMP IN BAKAMELI, 13th September, 1891.

“About four hours of very trying march through the woods on almost impassable paths, over mountains reaching to a height of about 3,900 feet, brought us to the Wadsako village where we are camping. We are in a famine-stricken country, the Manyuema having laid hands on everything, leaving the natives to live on banana roots and gourd leaves.

“I am told that we have still to march through some more

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devastated districts before we come to any maize. Our little guide is still with us, but will probably have to leave us to-day, as we have nothing to eat ourselves. I have rewarded him according to his wishes, and we are parting the best of friends, although when we caught him he behaved like a wild cat. The woodmen give me much food for thought, and, although it seems rather a painful subject to speak of higher and inferior races of mankind, one feels strongly tempted to do so here.

"CAMP AT BAGUNA, 14th September, 1891.

"To-day was one of the most unpleasant days I ever spent in Africa, and this is saying a great deal.

"Quite early I was informed that two Soudanese officers, who had joined us at Kavali, had deserted during the night with their families, and had not only taken with them one of our Soudanese soldiers and his rifle, but also some goods entrusted to them. A load of cartridges has also disappeared, doubtless stolen at their instigation. These are the men I was so anxious about. Several Bari soldiers also went with them. Their flight is accounted for by the fact that with us they could get neither spirits nor goats; these people are utterly demoralised. I should not waste a word on them, but the theft annoys me. At 9 a.m. I started with the rear-guard, and we soon found plenty to do. The road was exceptionally difficult, owing to the fact that hill after hill had to be climbed, the red soil in the low-lying ground between them having been converted into deep mud, so that we frequently slid down a considerable distance before we could get any foothold. Add to this, dense forest with thick undergrowth and prickly rattany, alternating with heights, covered with thick-stemmed reeds and grass. We tramped on for hours, crossing small streams, and finally we twice crossed the large eastern affluent of the Uturi called Abumbi, first by means of the trunk of a tree, subsequently by fording it. It was eleven to thirteen yards wide, and from eighteen to twenty inches deep.

"And now my troubles commenced: there were sick people lagging behind, hungry porters who could barely drag

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themselves along, and, to supply a fitting termination, a violent thunderstorm came on at 2.45 p.m., with heavy rain, drenching us to the skin; it continued until we reached the camp at 3.44. Then I was at once called upon to render surgical aid.

"To protect their plantations from the predatory dwarfs, the natives had stuck sharp-pointed pieces of cane into the ground all round the plantations, and any one stepping on them unawares got his foot pierced right through. Six of our men were injured in this way.

"CAMP AT BAGUNA, 15th September, 1891.

"As a number of our men were unable to carry to-day, I decided to send Dr. Stuhlmann, with the bulk of the caravan, ahead to Ikiro, where I am told food is to be had. I remained behind with sixteen men until porters came back to fetch the goods. I am told it is not far, and I hope I shall soon get away from here, as it is not pleasant, and I should like to have a full meal for once; but that will not be for some time yet, I fear.

"Dr. Stuhlmann just sent a line to say that he found no food at Wangaia, three hours' march from here, and was therefore going on to Ikiro, 'a step further' (literally 'a hand's length' further. This expression is a customary one among woodland tribes; to show how far a place is off, they place the right hand across the left arm at various places: 'the length of a hand' means about two hours' march; half of the lower arm means three; up to the elbow four hours' march, etc.).

"I am told that there are ten rifles at Ikiro, which have been given to the local chief by the Manyuema. It would therefore seem that this was the extreme limit of the Manyuema raids, and we may hope that beyond that point we shall find food again. Here the natives have cut off and hidden all the bunches of bananas that are at all eatable, and have brought us only a few, quite unfit to eat. For two pods of maize they ask two strings of beads. All my men are suffering from hunger; I sent them out twice foraging, but with no result. It has been raining incessantly since 11 a.m. and dull weather only accentuates the pangs of hunger.

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"CAMP OF BAGUNA, 16th September, 1891."

"I am now awaiting the arrival of the men who are to guide us, and trust we shall have a little sunshine on the way, as it is horribly cold and damp at present. The more we advance the further we get into the area of the periodical rains; these will continue until the end of October. At 10.30 a.m. I received a letter from Dr. Stuhlmann, who has arrived at Isonga, and to his surprise found a Lur population there and abundance of food. The soldiers are said to be eight days' journey east. I should have marched at once, but it has been raining incessantly since early morn and the men are in need of a little rest. We shall therefore remain till to-morrow morning. Dr. Stuhlmann has sent me fresh meat (we have had none for some time) and some maize; so we are having a feast to-day in spite of rain and thunder.

"CAMP AT ISONGA, 17th September, 1891.

"I started at 5.30 a.m. Owing to the continual rain and heavy dew, we were of course drenched to the skin in a few minutes, and trudged up hill and down dale shivering and shaking. The native huts here are built in a different style from those we have hitherto seen, and remind me of those at Wadelai.

"A last ascent for half an hour up a steep hill brought us at 9.22 to the camp, which is situated on the summit and swept by every wind. The inhabitants, Lur mixed with Lendu, have been very kind, and have given up their huts for the use of my people, but declined to sell anything without permission of their chief, Kiro, who had fled and had to be fetched from a great distance. At any rate we have one great advantage, inasmuch as we can again speak to the natives; I even understand a little Lur myself.

"In conversation with the grown-up son of the chief, I learned that he had a quarrel with his father on account of a negro the latter killed for stealing goats; his father was therefore in hiding, and would not come. But we were promised guides for a two days' march as far as the district of Nra, where there are people who speak Momfu, with whom

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consequently we could converse. The woods to the left are infested with dwarfs, whom the people regard as wood sprites.

"CAMP OF ISONGA, 18th September, 1891.

"I am making a stay in order to dry our saturated goods and give the people time to buy food. I also want to have my underwear washed, if we can get enough sunshine to dry it, but sunshine is scarce now. Besides two goats, our hosts have hitherto brought us no presents and we are very short of flour; they always promise, but never bring anything. Yesterday I asked for guides to go buffalo-hunting as they told me there were some buffaloes close by. To-day I am told the buffaloes are some distance away.

"Just now they have all gone to bring back their fugitive father. I am doubtful whether this is true.

"It is an interesting fact that both in the Lendu and in the Madi language a number of words occur which are analogous with old Egyptian words. In spite of all my endeavours to learn something definite as to the actual language of the dwarfs, I have had little success, as the dwarfs, being genuine wood sprites, only visit their neighbours to rob them, otherwise holding no intercourse with them. The enormous forest region, between the Congo and the Welle in the east up to and beyond the Ituri, affords them shelter and sustenance, and, in view of their decidedly nomadic habits, they have no need of fixed abodes or cultivation. Regular goblins, and evil ones at that."

On the 19th of September, 1891, Emin camped at Unsabana after a difficult march; on the 20th he arrived at Bajua and on the 21st at Unyau, moving on to Masiba on the 22nd of September. The usual difficulties were experienced during these marches.

"CAMP AT MASIBA, 22nd September, 1891.

"We must now be on the watershed of the Ituri, and I think we shall cross it to-morrow or the day after. The country seems to be hilly everywhere, and there are high mountains lying before us, separated by wide patches of wood, in which presumably there are watercourses.

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"CAMP AT MASIBA, 23rd September, 1891."

"The Equinox has again brought us a surprise, by no means a pleasant one. At noon yesterday the sky was covered with dark clouds, which seemed to descend to the earth, and half an hour later the storm broke. An easterly gale swept across the country, the rain came down in torrents, suddenly giving place to a violent hailstorm, the hailstones, from one to two inches in diameter, coming down with a rattle resembling a volley of musketry. My tent was blown down about my ears, and I only just saved my watch and note-book from destruction. Of course all my things, such as bedding, clothing, etc., were completely drenched. The rain continued till 5 p.m. All the rest fared equally badly; Dr. Stuhlmann's tent alone remained standing. No one but an African traveller can comprehend what a misery it is to sleep in completely soaked blankets, particularly at a temperature of 15° C.

"Well, the night is luckily over and now the sun is shining, although threatening clouds are again gathering. We gave the men a rest to-day, to dry themselves and buy food, as there is plenty of ripe eleusine in the neighbourhood. It is the worst kind of corn, but at any rate it can be made into Soudanese bread, and after all the principal thing is to get bread; whether it is doughy or sandy does not matter much.

"SAME PLACE, 24th September, 1891.

"A number of our men who went out foraging yesterday have presumably been detained by the rain and were not back by 10 this morning, and I am now compelled to stay here and wait till they come. Another day quite wasted, which otherwise would have taken me some distance further ahead.

"CAMP AT DSOBA, 25th September, 1891.

"At last I started at 7 a.m. this morning. After crossing the crest of the hills, on which we almost stuck fast in the stiff mud, we had to descend a considerable distance, forcing our way through tall reeds, and then entered the forest, which is intersected by two brooks, which we waded. Most of these woodland brooks have beautifully cold, clear water. We then

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entered a hilly savannah partly covered with tall grass, partly tilled, all the slopes being covered with fields of young maize. After passing two small blocks of huts and some extensive fields of young maize, we eventually arrived here.

"To the north lies a range of high hills, probably situated in the most easterly part of Momfu ; they appear to be about five or six days' march distant. Unfortunately Andra, which is now lying before us, has also been pillaged by the Manyuema, who are here called Tali or Wado, and the negroes are so embittered in consequence that we have to proceed with great caution. I am told that the Manyuema, after making the raid and driving away a quantity of cattle from the Moba, camped on the banks of the Psili, now flowing in front of us. During a hailstorm they were suddenly attacked by the Moba, and several of them were killed and the cattle recaptured. We shall therefore have to be careful. One of the local men speaks Momfu very well, although we are still in a country inhabited by Lendu ; but we are now at last reaching territory in which the Soudanese will be useful, and of these I have quite an assortment with me.

"Here again food is very scarce ; the maize is still very young, gourds are scarcely ripe ; the eleusine is still standing in the fields, no cattle are to be seen, and one cannot help wondering what the natives live on. There does not even seem to be much big game, such as antelopes or wild boars.

"CAMP OF ANDEBALI, 26th September, 1891.

"We had been cautioned that the natives here are very excitable, so when we started to-day at 6.50 a.m. I took the lead myself. It was a very trying march, but at 10 a.m. we reached some huts, but could not induce the natives to approach. I went across to them, gave them some beads and induced one to touch my hand, but they would not consent to guide us.

"At 10.55 a.m. we arrived here thoroughly tired. We are camping in a small wretched village in the forest, and are told that by going *viâ* Andibo, Andemoke, and Andemore, we shall reach the river Märe, which must be crossed in boats. Märe or Märi is the Momfu name of the Bomokandi: we

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have therefore arrived at an important point, because when we get to the north of Bomokandi, we must proceed due west, for if we get too far north we should run the risk of coming into collision with the outposts of the Mahdists (from Makraka).

"Unfortunately here too there is a dearth of food, and I must push on as quickly as possible to find provender for my 'swarm of locusts.' Hungry men are no use as porters, and I have more invalids and loiterers now than I care for.

"CAMP AT ANDEBALI, *27th September, 1891.*

"Our guide ran away last night, so Dr. Stuhlmann led the van due north into the forest. We hoped by passing through the fringe of the wood to reach open ground and villages. But we were disappointed, and after searching for a path till noon and finding nothing but old deserted dwarfs' huts, we had to return here, and are now looking out for a native guide, but I am doubtful of the result."

On the March Back

"CAMP OF DSOBA, *29th September, 1891.*

"**WE** returned yesterday; it was impossible to obtain a guide. I therefore brought the people back; it was a nasty road, owing to the awkward rising ground, rendered so muddy and slippery by the rain that there was scarcely any foothold. The difference in altitude between this place and Andebali is 900 feet or more; the ascent is made in two stages. This ascent from Andebali, when the roads are in the wretched condition they were in to-day, is very fatiguing. As usual, on our arrival we found the place deserted, and our only course was to send out men to seize natives; the Soudanese undertook this task, and brought in two men and two women at 4 p.m. The men refused to give us any information, but no doubt will become more tractable by-and-by; the women justly said it was the men's business to give information, as they, the women, did not travel. I shall

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release them again to-day. The weather was terrific. From 2.30 to 7.30 we had a thunderstorm with heavy hail; the whole neighbourhood was flooded, and even the tents afforded no shelter from the wet. Of course the men who went out yesterday to forage could not return, so I am still here. The men must get food for two or three days, and then we shall go on. It cannot be more than five or six days' march to the mountains, and when there we shall be able to find our way.

"CAMP AT ADSO, 30th September, 1891.

"What I long feared has happened at last: the porters, instigated by their foreman, have refused to advance further, and we are now marching back. The reason they give is hunger, and it is quite true that for some days the men have had very little to eat.

"Had I been alone, I should have simply packed off the ringleaders, sacrificed a few loads, and proceeded; but as the property of the expedition is not mine, I must give way. I am completely at a loss how to get to the coast after this, and I am afraid we never shall.

"CAMP AT KILIDSI, 21st October, 1891.

"Nearly a month has passed, a month of misery and wretchedness, and still the end is not in view. Would that I had died after my fall on the stones of Bagamoyo! We slowly marched back to Chief Kiro Isanga, and remained there from the 4th of October until this morning to give the 'hungry' men time to feed. An endeavour to get my former men to join us proved fruitless; they have already returned to the lake.

"At last we started this morning at 9.20, and arrived here at 1.6 p.m., after passing through hilly land covered with reeds and intersected by a few small brooks, and are now camping above a large brook called Muvanga.

"We have not seen the sun since the beginning of the month; thunderstorm after thunderstorm and torrential rains daily and hourly. During our sojourn at Isanga the lightning struck a flag-staff erected close to my hut by the Manyuema; it was shattered, but not burnt. I was sitting

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about three yards away at my table, but escaped with a slight shock. I feel like the 'Wandering Jew,'—I seem to have a charmed life, though God knows I would gladly die!

"CAMP OF PANGOTYU, 22nd October, 1891.

"A short march, but a very arduous one, through mud, tall grass, and over very trying hilly ground; we crossed the Isau river, but scarcely covered more than two geographical miles. Maize is plentiful here, and the grey parrots from the forests come to feed on it.

"While out foraging, one of our porters, a Manyema, received a peculiar wound from an arrow; the arrow penetrated the chest below the second rib, pierced the lobe of the lung, and emerged close to the vertebral column, having been bent by striking the bones.

"The wonderful man walked an hour and a half to come and have his wound dressed.

"CAMP AT BATJOGUA, 23rd October, 1891.

"Another short march has brought us here among extensive maize fields; this is where the accident happened yesterday. We were greeted with a few arrows, but have settled down notwithstanding, and shall probably stay here to-morrow, as the men have to go on and reconnoitre the road first. My reason for this is that I hear the Lendu people intend to block our way, and probably a few rifle-shots will be required to deter them from attacking us; but it is only about eight hours' march from here to the Walumba, where we shall meet friendly natives, so we shall probably get through without many wounds.

"My patient of yesterday is going on very well; he has made the march on foot, and, thanks to the antiseptic treatment, there is little feverishness. I should be glad to pull him through, as also a Suaheli soldier who has been suffering badly from a poisoned arrow-wound on the lower arm; the dreadful swelling and suppuration are now diminishing.

"CAMP AT CHULINGA, 26th October, 1891.

"We were delayed for two days in our last camp owing

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to very unfavourable weather and lack of guides. Yesterday four of our people were wounded by arrows, one very seriously, the right lobe of the liver being pierced.

"An exceedingly difficult road through the woods along the mountains brought us at 8 a.m. into the prairie. Here we were shouted at by natives on all sides, and threatened with destruction if we advanced another step into the country. I proceeded a little further, and out of consideration for the wounded pitched my camp at 10 a.m. in this large village, the very place where our people were wounded yesterday. But so far none of the natives have shown themselves. My guide tells me that to-morrow we shall reach the district of the Wawira-Walumba, where we may expect hostilities.

"The only food to be had anywhere is maize, and even we white men live on it almost exclusively. Twice the natives assailed us with arrows, and twice we drove them off. Towards night some girls went to fetch water, and two of them were wounded, one by three arrows, one of which pierced the abdomen; nevertheless, I have hopes of her recovery.

"CAMP AT BATAUL, *27th October, 1891.*

"The man shot through the liver died during the night, and we were about to bury him when we were again shot at and threatened by large bodies of negroes. I proceeded to distribute the loads; but when the negroes sent another lot of arrows at us and wounded one of the men in the foot with a poisoned arrow, I ordered my men to fire, and the natives fled. Dr. Stuhlmann now advanced with the main body, I bringing up the rear; the natives again came upon us in great numbers, and we only kept them off by setting fire to the huts. We then proceeded unmolested through a forest watered by the streams Gala and Isau, and at 10.30 a.m. arrived at a village on the summit, where we pitched our camp. Again we had to show fight, but are now left in peace. The village is called Lasi (being the Bataui name of the chief), and is inhabited by the Banguma tribe of the Wasongora.

"A Wanyamwesi woman, who, in spite of strict prohibitions, went alone to the waterside, has been wounded very

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seriously in the abdomen by an arrow, and is not likely to survive long. I cannot help admiring these people; they bear pain with a stoicism beyond all praise; this woman, after being wounded, walked for several hours, supporting with her hand a piece of omentum protruding from the wound.

“CAMP IN THE HILLS, WALUMBA,
28th October, 1891.

“The night passed quietly, and at 6.30 a.m. I took the lead down the hill and across a muddy brook; then up a steep ascent and through some durrah fields; but I soon saw we were going wrong, although our guide asserted we were on the right track, and from there I steered by the compass.

“The hilly ground, the narrow intervening gorges, the slippery soil, and the pouring rain all contributed to make the day's march far from pleasant, and, as we could not find a good site, we had eventually to camp in a Walumba village in the forest where there was not a drop of water. But rain was falling fast, and I had some rainwater collected in basins. Such a march as we have had to-day is a strange experience. And now that we are here, the howls of the blacks are heard in every direction; we are in momentary danger of their arrows as we move about, yet so bad are the roads that we want all our eyes to watch where we are treading, and—well—you can imagine the rest.

“Dr. Stuhlmann has just arrived without having been molested, and if the rain would only cease I would go on with a few men to reconnoitre the road. Oh for a dry spot and a little sunshine! It has never ceased raining since we left Bukoba, and I only hope that the western slopes of the plateau—in other words the affluents of the Congo—are profiting by this incessant rain. The name of our present camping place is Dinsele.

“CAMP IN THE BANGORO HILLS, *29th October, 1891.*

“As early as 6 a.m. I was on the road, leading the van. It was a dreadfully fatiguing march, through deep vales in the dense forest covered with tall reeds, and the path such a slough that we sank into it ankle-deep. But there was no

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help for it, and, regardless of the noise made by the natives, we went on until at 11 a.m. we reached a village built on a steep mountain side, where we camped. Our men seized a number of fowls, but were repeatedly shot at with arrows and a few were wounded. On the heights above us the negroes' war-drum has been beating for the last quarter of an hour; we may therefore expect an attack to-day. Dr. Stuhlmann arrived at 4.30 p.m, but some of the men had gone astray, and I had to send out a detachment to bring them in; they were back at night.

"Meanwhile we have had some fighting here, and three of our men are wounded, one, a Mganda man, rather seriously. Towards night all became quiet, and we were glad to be able to rest.

"30th October, 1891.

"At the men's request we stayed here, but I sent a detachment on ahead to reconnoitre the road to Bilipi, which is, perhaps, four hours away. On this occasion we had a little incident—the men simply went away and hid themselves and it was only after I had had about ten of them seized and flogged that all went well and the men started without further demur. Meanwhile rifle-shots were heard from the waterside; evidently the negroes do not mean to leave us alone.

"It has again been raining all night, and we are pretty sure of another thunderstorm about noon. The men are engaged in cutting down the tall reeds around the huts, and so every one is busy.

"About 2 p.m., after pouring rain, we experienced a very violent and long-continued shock of earthquake, the noise being like that of a train passing overhead. The men I had sent out returned at night; my opinion is that they took the wrong road. They report that a good road lies in front of us (?).

"CAMP AT BANGUEMA, WAWIRA, 31st October, 1891.

"From 3 a.m. till 6.30 the rain poured in torrents; we distributed the loads, and I brought up the rear at 8.30. . . . The road at first was very bad, unfathomable mire,

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dense bush, fallen timber, howling natives, sick and wounded porters,—in short, all the miseries of African travelling, surpassing the comprehension of the uninitiated. •

“CAMP AT BAMANGUNDI, 1st November, 1891.

“We have had another march through hills and woods. We had to climb three steep ascents, and go down equally steep descents, passing through muddy tracts of wood, in which, in spite of the pouring rain, the grey parrots were giving a concert.

“Then uphill to the village where we are staying. It is pleasantly situated on the slope of the conical heights of Mavoko and Limba, and belongs to the Wadumbu, a Wahoko tribe which has penetrated here among the Wawira. The confusion and intermingling of people on the short stretch of road we have travelled is inconceivable. Originally I suppose the tract was inhabited by pigmies ; now a number of tribes have crowded in, especially from the south-west, here and there from the east and north also, presumably driven from their homes by the immigration of other tribes. In general the racial movement, which elsewhere is from east to west, is reversed in Africa, and appears to be from west to east.

“WABOTSI CAMP, 2nd November, 1891.

“This is All Souls' Day ! We marched for five hours, at least we who brought up the rear ; but not a trying march, not much woodland, and excepting one steep fall and rise, our road for the most part lay through undulating country overgrown with reeds or covered by plantations. The homesteads are mostly deserted, as the natives mistrust us ; they have taken all their portable belongings with them, abandoning the fields and banana groves to us.

“The day had a surprise in store, the natives for the first time coming to meet us in a friendly way. They are still helping our people in the camp, building huts, fetching water, etc., and at the same time driving a brisk trade in maize, bananas, fowls, and tobacco. Our people, who have long been used to nothing but arrows and yells, are delighted at

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this peaceful development, and at getting the food, which by the way is fairly dear.

• "At three in the afternoon one of the natives came straight to me.

"Chief Bilipi, hearing rumours of our approach, had sent his under-chief, Bayango, to meet me and serve as guide. A great mark of attention, which of course will mean a present. The way before us is said to be good.

"OPESSE CAMP, *3rd November, 1891.*

"We marched at 6.15 this morning, with Bayango for guide, I myself going on ahead. It was a short and pleasant march through gently undulating grass-grown country, with very many villages and fine, extensive plantations of newly ripened maize, cleusine, giant bananas, and sugar cane. Friendly people all along the route, most willing to sell us their fowls. The initial syllables of all these villages, 'Ande' or 'Wande,' making the clan, characterise them as Wawira settlements.

"Our camp is a large, clean space with many huts that have been cleared for our use. The men are well formed; the women adorn their upper lip by the insertion of a disk of wood almost as large as the palm of their hand. We arrived in dripping rain, but it has cleared up and is not raining now. Hundreds of natives are wandering about, twenty or thirty crowding in front of my tent to see me writing. No white man has ever been here.

"WAWASI CAMP, *4th November, 1891.*

"On leaving the camp, I was with the rear of the column. We immediately plunged into the forest, and for some hours the march was most troublesome, through deep mire and foul standing water. At the few villages we passed the natives were at some trouble to get us to encamp amongst them, as they were anxious to barter for beads, for which they also begged. Our guides had absconded quite at the outset of the march, and we had to find our way ourselves. But we got on tolerably well, and, after a six hours' march, at one o'clock I crossed a deep declivity and entered the good-sized

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village, where we encamped, and from which the natives had not fled at our coming.

"Very lively and very noisy dealings were in progress, my people getting fowls, maize, sugar-cane, bananas, and beans in plenty.

"IN CAMP AT BATAIBO ON THE DUKI RIVER,
"5th November, 1891.

"After a three hours' march through tall grass and over boulders, we have got back to our old camp here, bringing our circular tour to its conclusion. Chief Bilipi came to meet me; his people are putting up a hut for my use, as I propose to rest here a few days. These three months I have been constantly afoot, and I am getting a little too old not to feel tired. I hope I may soon get to rest.

"EBENDA, 6th November, 1891.

"We are once more building huts, as the river is very high, and we shall require a bridge. Meanwhile the natives are bringing fowls and bananas, but want to exchange them only for iron spades, of which we have none. It is raining here just as merrily as in the place we left; it almost seems as if we took the rainy season with us from place to place.

"Amidst all my recent troubles and trials, I have had one great consolation: I have discovered a largish cat, hitherto unknown to naturalists; it will arouse considerable interest in Europe. At home in the primeval forest the Wawira call it Muaga.

"Messengers were despatched to Madsamboni to-day, to let him know we were coming, and to ask him to have our huts prepared."

The letters sent by Emin to his sister continued until this date.

Chapter XXXIX

GLOOM AND SADNESS

THE further progress of the march was overshadowed by gloom and sadness. Small-pox broke out among the people of the expedition. Emin too fell ill. An abrasion of the skin, induced on the 5th of November, and neglected, soon developed into a painful wound. The notes in his diary are restricted to absolutely necessary items.

On the 12th of November, Undusuma was reached again, and no further advance was possible for the time being. The idea of pushing forward to the west might be considered as having failed utterly, it was now simply a case of returning to Bukoba, or of reaching Lake Tanganyika as originally intended. But even this could not be attempted yet: on the one hand, Emin's condition inspired grave anxiety; on the other, the small-pox epidemic increased with virulence. Seven, nine, and as many as thirteen fresh cases a day were nothing out of the common, and, worse still, a number of them terminated fatally.

After about ten days' rest, at least Emin's state improved and Dr. Stuhlmann took the opportunity to make an excursion to the Albert Nyanza, some thirty-five miles east. He started on the 24th of November and returned on the 2nd of December.

The position was melancholy to desperation, which is presumably the reason Emin stopped writing to his sister. We will therefore again quote from his diary:—

"*2nd December, Wednesday.*—Dr. Stuhlmann arrived, accompanied by Kavalli. No zoological results.

"*3rd December, Thursday.*—Two deaths (small-pox), one fresh case.

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"4th December, Friday.—Manyuema arrived. •

"5th December, Saturday.—Natives complain of our people—justly.

"6th December, Sunday.—Santa Claus, what may I expect from you? Increasing weakness of sight is forcing me to give up meteorological observations.

"7th December, Monday.—Thirteen cases of small-pox. I have urged Dr. Stuhlmann to march off with all the healthy, *i.e.*, such as have had the small-pox. As he was unwilling, I intimated that from to-day I considered myself free from all responsibility. Two bales of cloth, one case of ammunition, three or four soldiers, and the sick are to stay."

Emin's official memorandum to Dr. Stuhlmann, calling upon him to retreat, is as follows :—

"Having regard to the spread of small-pox, and the decrease of available provisions in this country, I request your honour forthwith to take all the healthy porters and soldiers, together with the goods belonging to the expedition, and to proceed in the first instance to Tenge-Tenge. I myself shall remain here with the sick, their dependants, and the few guards you will leave me, until the sick recover. For use meantime you will please also leave two cases of cloth, some coloured cloth as presents for the chiefs on the route, a case of ammunition, and some powder for the muzzle-loaders.

"If within a month of your march no news is to hand from me, you will endeavour without delay to reach Bukoba station without awaiting my caravan.

"DR. EMIN,
"Commander of the Expedition."

The diary goes on :—

"8th December, Tuesday.—Preparations for departure. A crowd of fresh cases.

"9th December, Wednesday.—I have given Dr. Stuhlmann, for my sister, my Swedish gold medal, a long letter [covering the period from 22nd March to 6th December, 1891.—*German Editor's note*], and a power of attorney to take delivery of my books, etc. A guide has been found. The ammunition for me comprises : 400 Mauser cartridges ; Remington cart-

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ridges, one load (two canisters); and one load of powder. There are intrigues among the soldiers (Soudanese). Bataiyugi has arrived.

"10th December, Thursday.—At seven this morning Dr. Stuhlmann began his march; I am staying with the sick. In the evening a runaway pigmy was brought in, and sent after Dr. Stuhlmann under an escort of four soldiers. Madsamboni will not let me go."

On the 6th of December Emin wrote a few lines to his sister, adding them to the letter concluded on the 6th of November. This last letter of all is as follows:—

"MADSAMBONI'S VILLAGE, UNYANGABO IN UNDUSUMA,

"6th December, 1891.

"My people are stricken with small-pox. Dr. Stuhlmann is leaving with such as are sound, and is taking this letter. God bless you all. Half-blind as I am, it would be useless to write to me at once, so please wait until you hear from me again.

"Your brother,
"EMIN."

Stuhlmann's departure left Emin alone with the sick, the ruins of an expedition that, if not brilliantly equipped, was at least provided with all necessities, and which he had undertaken, not for any benefit to himself, but simply from sentiments of gratitude to his native country and his Emperor—an expedition that had raised such great expectations, not only at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo, but far away at home in Germany. Now Emin was alone in the heart of a region absolutely severed from the civilised world, surrounded by hostile tribes, and menaced by a terrible epidemic that claimed an ever-growing number of victims.

Discipline was relaxing ominously; hunger and sickness had burst its bonds. The conviction forced itself on Emin that, even if spared by the fatal disease, his life was not worth a moment's purchase; he could now hardly trust his own people. But here again, his extraordinary conscientiousness and the admirable love he had for his neighbour would not

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permit him to think of his own safety, or of abandoning his people to a doubtful fate, probably misery and destruction. The property entrusted to him by the Imperial Commissioner he had returned by the hands of Dr. Stuhlmann, keeping for himself only what was indispensable.

On the coast no one can have had the faintest inkling of Emin's position in the interior, on an expedition with the following instructions from Major Wissmann: "If Your Excellency should find it compatible with the general circumstances to extend the sphere described, I should consider any such extension as particularly meritorious." Otherwise it is inconceivable that Emin should have been ordered again and again to report more fully to "his superior authorities," and to keep in touch with them. These communications, of course, no longer reached Emin; we mention them, as they account for the different construction put upon things by Emin and by the Administrators of the Coast Protectorate. In the same way, the new Governor, Freiherr von Soden, requested Emin as late as 31st July, 1891, in kindly but emphatic terms, to send the Government more precise information during his march.

A later letter (August 3rd, 1891) went the length of stating that Emin would not be allowed to draw his salary until he had formally accepted the commissionership, which, as a matter of fact, he had already been exercising for a long time past. And his salary would not be continued if he conducted an expedition beyond the German sphere of influence. The German Foreign Office, however, did not confirm the latter paragraph.

Hitherto Emin had borne every trial, faced every peril with equanimity, ever strengthened by the consciousness that his life was devoted to the cause of civilisation and of science; but it is not surprising that in his present circumstances this composure should gradually yield to a dull pessimism, little calculated to contribute to the safe or successful issue of an expedition such as his. His frame of mind at the end of 1891 is very briefly but eloquently described in his diary:—

"24th December (Thursday).—Everybody drunk again; enough to eat, too much to drink, and women! What more do my people want? But the natives absolutely keep out of

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our sight. A fresh case of small-pox. It is getting time for me to send to Stuhlmann. How strange that there is no news from him yet—Christmas Eve. Hyenas are unearthing our dead ; three so far ! A crowd of vultures present. . . .

"29th December (Tuesday).—The hyenas have once again raked up a corpse and made off with it. I wonder whether they will do the same with mine? Everybody has been drunk from an early hour in the morning, and remained so throughout the day.

"31st December (Thursday).—Rihan Aga and some of the people have gone to the lake to fetch salt. Singema is down with small-pox. Some of Katausi's people brought my tobacco, and I have distributed it. Whoever can be chief in this country? The New Year is not opening brightly."

The Sojourn in Undusuma

THE New Year did indeed not begin under happier auspices. On the very first day Emin, full of care, entered in his diary :—

"1st January, 1892 (Friday).—Kato has changed his home-stead, alleging the old one to be under an evil spell ; Singema wants to come to us for treatment. Bad prospects for the future. Another fresh case of small-pox. Some of the soldiers have so far got out of bounds that I have to adopt violent measures to keep any kind of order. It was raining all day, and for the first time we had thunder and showers from the east ; hitherto, they have come from the west only. This means the approach of the lesser rainy season. All the negroes within a wide radius have again run away."

Although Emin was in a bad state of health himself, he endeavoured to do full justice to his medical duties, and treated medical questions with undiminished interest. For example, on the 2nd of January he gives detailed particulars concerning the confinement of a woman suffering from small-pox ; the child, born infected by the same disease, died on the second day. He also made rather exhaustive notes on cases of epilepsy in women afflicted by small-pox, and

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instances of hysteria among the negroes. On the 5th of January he wrote : " No hyenas for some days past ; can the corpses of small-pox patients have infected them ? " •

On the 10th of January Emin addressed two letters to Dr. Stuhlmann, one official, the other private, informing him that the pestilence was assuming more serious proportions, and disagreeably prolonging his stay in Undusuma. At that time Emin still based his calculations upon the certainty of being able to follow Dr. Stuhlmann either by the route he had taken or by the forest route. His position is so forcibly characterised by a private letter to Dr. Stuhlmann that we may quote it here at length :—

" UNDUSUMA, 10th *January*, 1892.

" HONoured DOCTOR,—

" Everything comes to him who waits, and so your kind letters of the 16th and 18th of December, 1891, came to hand at noon yesterday. The messenger to whom you entrusted them, your guides, and many of the people are dead, and as yet we cannot say where this horrible contagion will end. The outlook here is most serious. Madsamboni and Kato are reported dead, Singema will not last the day. Not a negro to be found for miles, all gone into the forest. Our camp is shunned by everybody ; food is scanty, flesh-meat a dream. Things have gone badly with us ; two porters and Jakuti, the soldier, have died, and besides there have been from one to five deaths in every hut. On the 2nd of January I had twenty-four patients, eight of whom have succumbed. But, at last, five days have passed without any fresh cases.

" The Manyuema have been here twice, with a little rice, some goats, and a few slaves, which, of course, nobody will buy, as they would only die here. They declined to transmit letters. We have heard nothing from the Arabs. I had a healthy pigmy couple for you. The girl died, the man (135 centimetres in height and with moustache) is alive—a very good type, and shall be reserved for you. I was not able to get anything more from the people, neither catskins nor anything else.

" I am very dissatisfied with my men. There was no relief

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from incessant drunkenness, bluster, and impertinence until I decided on a liberal course of thrashing. Firur and Mechum, also Feradj Bajani, made themselves particularly obnoxious, and I shall see to having them officially punished later. Many thanks for the news respecting the Soudanese. I hear nothing in this place; not a soul comes near us. Nothing from the north, because Kavalli refuses to send people.

"I should have much pleasure in getting the dogs for you, but for many miles around there are neither dogs nor owners; I will try, however.

"I am sending you these lines and enclosures by some of our people, as I am anxious that you should have news from here, and not delay on our account. I shall follow you by easy stages, and hope to meet you on the coast. The six porters, with Uledi, are hardly able to walk, and for the moment no people can be got from here. I must see whether Katonsi will help. But don't you wait, in any case; advance at once. I have made it clear to the people here that in respect of the time spent in this place dating from your departure, they are not entitled to claim pay or any other consideration.

"The two runaway soldiers have not returned to this day, nor can I ascertain whether they are hidden anywhere. If Rihan Aga is trifling with me, he shall pay dearly for it. I have got behind some of his wives already. I am making the people work, from early morning, fetching wood, building huts, etc., simply to keep down their persistent drunkenness.

"When on the coast, will you please see how my little one is getting on?

"God protect you! Wishing you a safe journey,

"I am,

"Yours very truly,

"EMIN.

"If Katonsi refuses to help, I shall go to the Manyuema and take the forest route.

"*11th January*.—Singema died yesterday. There are two fresh cases of small-pox in the camp, in fact in Rihan Aga's hut. Minjuma is quite incapable of walking, and will therefore stay. When I go, I shall leave him with the Manyuema;

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seeing that all the chiefs have died, it is possible for him to remain here.

"12th January.—The people were to go to-day, but Uledi states he has only ten cartridges left; the porters too declared that their powder was wet, and that they had no caps. I am providing what is necessary, and noting it here. Two more girls have died. I enclose a letter to Sheik Assér Amer, which please forward to him. In case accounts are made up and paid before we return, my men, and I too, would be glad if you would have whatever is due to us, at least up to our quitting German territory, handed to Sheik Amer, or whoever may be Vali of Bagamoyo, to be kept for us.

"Pardon this scrawl, I can hardly see what I am doing; it is raining, and very dark.

"If you get to Bagamoyo, give my love to my little one.

"Yours truly,

"EMIN."

Emin's diary, the entries in which were again becoming much more detailed, has the following note on the source of the small-pox epidemic:—

"14th January, Thursday.—About noon Kavadima, Sagyara's man, came in. . . . One of the things he said is deserving of particular attention. He tells me that the small-pox prevalent about and beyond the Semliki is not indigenous, but has been brought here from Unyoro, where it is still playing great havoc. We are therefore dealing with an epidemic from the north, sweeping south in a parallel course on both sides of the lake. I may remark that this pestilence was hitherto unknown to the Wawira; and it is quite possible that the forest people enjoy immunity from it so long as they remain in the forest."

On the 19th of January we read further:—

"The pigmy intended for Dr. Stuhlmann was attacked by small-pox to-day. I hear from the Manyuema that Said bin Salim desires my alliance because the Congo people, in spite of his appeal, simply ignore him, and Tippu Tib has done him some injury. He therefore wants to know from me to

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whom he should apply, desiring if possible to secure my mediation. I hope he will come soon.

• "I have had a few snails from the lake, all belonging to four species that I already knew; also two birds' eggs, of a new species, round and white like owls' eggs, but found on the ground, and evidently in an advanced state of incubation; also some cotton and a few tomatoes from the old station.

"Katonsi came in the afternoon. His people had given him my message, and he could not rest; he did not want me to be angry with him, and desired me to tell him my grievances. I straightway taxed him with insincerity in all his dealings with me; beginning with his promise to bring Mpigua's son to me, soon after revoked; next the promise to send people to Mogu, a lie pure and simple; then his tale about Mpigua asking for permission to come, and his failure to bring him nevertheless; his filching two goats from Mpigua on pretext that they were for me; but worst of all, that he employed the two soldiers I gave him to fetch boats, in stealing women, some of whom he gave to them, keeping the rest for himself. He very naturally tried to exculpate himself, but had to own to the facts; eventually he took himself off, in a state of great perturbation, to Rihan Aga's hut, to sleep there, hoping to find me in a better mood to-morrow.

"Then I was visited by the Manyuema, who want to go early to-morrow. We had a long talk about Tippu Tib and their own ruler. I gave them some presents.

"It rained from midday till past two, quite a warm rain, refreshing all verdure."

But weeks went by before Emin could think of leaving Undusuma. It was not so much the epidemic that detained him, but the want of porters. Madsamboni indeed had promised to furnish them, but he simply kept away. In the meantime his son was with Emin, who had promised to take care of him. Madsamboni made use of this to retain Emin, who however saw through the artifice, as the following extract proves:—

"*26th January, Tuesday.*—Madsamboni's brother came to me, bringing some beans and a few bananas, but asking for cloth in return. As he again referred to the dread of the

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natives, who had simply abandoned their huts and fields, and were in hiding somewhere, I availed myself of the opportunity to tell them very plainly that I could no longer tarry to watch over Madsamboni's son, but suggested that he should undertake charge of him, call the people together, and act as administrator of the country. I wished him to tell his people so, and that they must not be surprised if I wearied of these eternal delays, and went away. Madsamboni's son was present and heard what I said. The people were somewhat disconcerted, and soon after took their leave."

At the close of January, the virulence of the epidemic at length showed signs of abating: on the 29th only two slight cases remained. Emin wrote:—

"In the country too, the disease seems to be assuming a less virulent form, and is not carrying off so many people. The number of victims must have been very great, and I fear the complaint will remain in an endemic form for a considerable time to come."

For weeks there had been a steady downpour of rain, that showed no signs of diminution. Emin indeed on the 10th of February noted: "At last, a glimpse of the sun," but on the very next day complained of rough, rainy weather, and on the 12th recorded: "From midnight, intermittent rain, till 7 a.m. Many of our people slightly ill, probably in consequence of the damp and changeable weather." He continues: "In the evening my people, accompanied by two Manyuema, returned, but not with any very edifying news. Ismaili is ready to supply porters for the distance from here to his station, and from there to Tenge-Tenge, on condition that I stay at his station until his chief comes, who wants to see me. The fact is, his chief, driven out from Nyangwe by another Arab, has settled in Urundi, and hankers after reprisals with my assistance. But a month's stay at Ismaili's, where I should have to pay for everything, would mean exhausting my stock of cloth, and thereby throwing me on the mercy of the Manyuema. That puts it out of the question, and I am sending the people back to-morrow with a polite refusal. As the Arab wants my help, let him come to me."

Fresh troubles were in store for Emin. His officers became

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mutinous. Just as in the old days in Equatoria, the officers conspired, whilst his soldiers remained loyal. Emin notes the incidents as follows :—

“*23rd February, Tuesday.*—For some time past I have been alive to rumours that Rihan Aga was secretly agitating among the soldiers, inciting them to follow him *vid* Katonsi to his former comrades. One of the men when drunk to-day spoke of it openly. Upon that I summoned the officers, and told them that henceforward I would have nothing to do with them. They might go where they liked. Their plan was to march away with me from here, seize my things on the march, and send me adrift with five followers. Three of the people who came with us from Bukoba were implicated in the plot. At three in the afternoon I called out the soldiers, and told them that I knew of their design, and advised them to desist from such a stupid proceeding. The cry was at once raised : ‘No forest route for us : we will go to our brothers.’ Rihan Aga’s intention was to get me to Katonsi’s, where I, being cut off, would be in his hands. I refused to hold the usual evening meeting or to see the officers. Some of the soldiers are already of a different turn of mind ; Rihan Aga and Abu Bekr Aga publicly affirm their innocence. Ramadan Aga openly declares for me.

“*24th February, Wednesday.*—Rihan Aga and Abu Bekr Aga want to hand me a document stigmatising the treatment they have received at my hands. Ramadan refused to sign it with them. The precious letter is to hand, containing ‘truth and fiction,’ the preamble being true and the rest mostly false. I have sent them word that I shall not comply with their request to make the declaration ‘that I relieved them of their obligations to me.’ Siver called me at half-past nine, telling me that it was intended by the mutineers to decamp to-night ; he warned me to be careful. I have put all my people on the alert.

“*25th February, Tuesday.*—The two officers thrice sent me a messenger to reiterate their inane and mendacious statements, and each time I met them by a negative rejoinder. They now talk about leaving early to-morrow without any soldiers ; but I discredit it. Meanwhile two of the soldiers of

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their party have given assurances of their absolute submission to me. . . .

"26th February, Wednesday.—Not a soul has gone. . . . No message to-day from my friends, the officers. . . . Late in the afternoon Rihan Aga sent for Surus the bugler, and tried to insure that the three Momfu soldiers might hold with him rather than with me. And yet both he and Abu Bekr maintain they have not tampered with the men. At sundown Ramadan Aga called out the soldiers, and addressing them, said it seemed to him the time had come to put a stop to the random talk in the camp. All the men therefore that held with him, *i.e.* with me, and were prepared to follow me through the forest or anywhere else, should fall out. All the men promptly did so, save four; and two of these, after a moment's reflection, also joined Ramadan. The mutinous officers are therefore left with two adherents. . . .

"28th February, Sunday.—. . . . In the evening, Ramadan Aga sounded the alarm; the soldiers responded without exception. . . ."

At last, on the next day it looked as if matters were coming to a head. Emin says:—

"1st March, Monday.—At two in the afternoon, Shaban returned from the Manyuema, with a letter of excuse from Said bin Salim, saying he could not come, as the distance was too great and the people would die of fatigue. Ismaili is sending a man who will get me porters if I want to come. The letter is very neatly penned, in good Arabic. The man who came with Shaban says he cannot provide any porters without first going to ask Ismaili.

"The following tale now comes to light. Dr. Stuhlmann, on reaching the Manyuema station after marching from here, formed camp near by. He had not been there five days before two Englishmen (?), settlers at Tenge-Tenge, came to him and seized the Manyuema Vekil, demanding seven pieces of ivory as the price of his liberty. He wrote to Said bin Abid, who ordered him to hand over the ivory. But instead of releasing him, the whites wanted to kill him, or at least take him to Zanzibar. Dr. Stuhlmann however objected, and they let the man go, but set fire to his station. Ultimately

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the three white men marched off together. A somewhat mysterious story !

• "In the evening the Manyema came to me, assuring me that Ismaili would be very pleased to see me at his place and would furnish porters from Mbene ; but he (the Manyema) would have to see him first. In that case, I observed, I should in all probability never see him or his place again. In reply he offered to leave two of his people with me. I refused ; they would decamp by night. Then he offered to send his people, and remain himself : I left it to him.

"Said bin Abid cannot be far away, his letter bearing the date of 2 Redjeb, *i.e.*, a month ago to-day. The Manyema tells me that after the white men had marched from Mbene, two Arabs arrived there from Kattun, to buy ivory ; they did not show themselves to the whites. The Vekil at Mbene's reported the arrival to Said, who sent for the Arabs. Another sign that he is in the neighbourhood."

With Ismaili by the Pisgah Mountains

THE long-expected porters finally made their appearance at Undusuma on the 6th of March, enabling Emin to march westward on the 8th. Crossing the Ituri, he entered the Congo State, and by the 12th of March reached the Manyema station by the Pisgah mountains, where Ismaili awaited him. He was obliged to put a good face on the matter, so as not to spoil himself with Ismaili. The first interview therefore passed off satisfactorily, Emin writing that evening : "He sent me two goats, with young, and twenty-two bunches of bananas, which I at once divided among the people. All the latter are lodged in huts, and will probably have to stay a few days, before we can come to any decision about our further progress." One imperative reason for remaining was that Emin had been unable to take all his baggage, and had to send the porters back to bring what was left. On Thursday, the 17th, he at last got them to start for Undusuma. When they returned, fresh delays occurred.

On the 3rd of April, Emin fell ill. He does not specify his

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complaint ; on most of the dates following this in his diary he simply wrote "ill." On the 10th of April a longer note says : "I don't seem to be getting any better. I drag myself about, but have no taste for anything. I can't eat, much less sleep." Not before the 17th do we find : "A slight turn for the better," but within a few days the laconic note "ill" recurs. The moment, however, that the state of his health at all permitted it, Emin resumed his scientific labours, as is evident from occasional notes in his diary. But so late as the 1st of May he complains : "This time there seems to be no getting better for me ; I am dragging along uselessly. Ismaili came to me, to bid me good-bye, and I heard that his expedition was to be directed against Bukoko, on English soil, beyond the Semliki. I at once remonstrated with him, reminding him of what took place at Mbene station in Stuhlmann's presence. Even assuming his expedition to be successful, and unimpeded by the troops in the vicinity, he was to remember what would happen there when once he had gone ; how all the blame would be put upon Kibaranga, the chief of Mbene station, and how the latter would be made to suffer for his (Ismaili's) action. He seemed to realise this, and after consulting his people, returned, declaring that he had given up the idea of the expedition, and was sending his people elsewhere ; that he himself would remain here, as he supposed people from Kilonga-longa would soon arrive."

But again days and days went by, without any decision being come to. On the 8th of May Emin had a long interview with Ismaili on the subject of his final departure. "I told him," he writes, "that I wanted porters to Tenge-Tenge within a fortnight. He hopes people will come from Kilonga-longa, or even from Said bin Abid." On the 11th of May, he writes again : "I hear from Ismaili that Manyuema from Mbene station have come to within two days' march from here, plundering. He would leave to-morrow himself, but would return within a week."

It was not until the 20th that Emin heard from Ismaili. "Late at night one of Ismaili's men brought me his compliments. Everything has gone off satisfactorily ; he is coming

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back to-morrow." Other people too that had been sent out to glean information about the marauders, returned, stating that the Manyuema settlers at Mbene had given arms to their negroes, and that the latter set to work plundering. Ismaili's people, however, drove them off, capturing two of their women, whom they brought along. "These two," Emin continues, "were at once delivered up to the settlers in the huts at the back of the station, to be eaten! I hear the women were killed without more ado, their flesh partly eaten fresh, partly dried over the fire. They were Wasrugara from the forest; and I am told that all the Wasrugara along the river here are cannibals, and thus terrify the remaining tribes."

Among all these negroes Emin was most scrupulous in the discharge of his medical and scientific duties, and possibly at times found some pleasure and satisfaction in them. But, generally speaking, he regarded the future with despondency.

The following entry is simply a sigh of despair :—

"*27th April.*—I am very weary. Would it were over!"

Of his natural history notes, we may mention the subjoined :—

On the 29th of April he ascertains that the first swallows came to nest in the camp, and briefly describes them. On the 9th of May we find him jubilant : "Caught a red mouse at last! Collected twenty-five fresh species of birds; shot a young crocodile." These entries are spaced by notes on his patients; in one case of a woman suffering from hysteria, he found that she was to a great extent shamming.

Within the station, meanwhile, matters went from bad to worse. Ismaili himself took to drink. Emin had frequently to resort to flogging as a punishment to keep his people in order at all. At length, on the 25th of May, the people sent to Kilonga-longa returned with a letter from Said bin Abid to the effect that he would be happy to welcome Emin, and give him a free passage, but his station at Mbene had been destroyed by the negroes, seventy-five men being killed, and that the road there was barred.

On the same day a rumour came to Emin's ears that

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Dr. Stuhlmann and the Manyema had come to blows, the doctor being killed.

This decided Emin to leave Ismaili's station without delay. The road to the south that he had only recently hoped to take was cut off, and nothing remained but to attach himself to Said bin Abid, the caravan chief then at Kilonga-longa on the Ituri. This man was one of the great ivory-hunters who made the interior of Africa the scene of their operations. From his headquarters on the Lindi he had established several stations to the north-east, the most important being Kilonga-longa on the Ituri, of which Ismaili's station by the Pisgahs, where Emin was staying, was a dependency.

Ismaili began by putting fresh obstacles in the way of Emin's departure for the west ; but Emin's tenacity prevailed, and at length secured the necessary porters enabling him to march on the 28th of May.

Emin made an accurate survey map of the route followed from this place to the scene of his death. Unfortunately the originals were lost in crossing a stream. As far as possible he drew the maps afresh, but adds: "As the original surveys are lost, I can only describe these as defective. The route runs almost continuously south of Stanley's, repeatedly intersecting it." The march dragged somewhat, for the most part only about a mile and a quarter being covered in the hour. An almost unbroken stretch of dense forest, branches and foliage often closely intertwined, plenty of timber, and many boulders ; deep gorges with steep ascents furrowing the rather hilly country. On the 11th of June Emin wrote: "To-day we made scarcely a mile an hour, a very slimy, miry, and most toilsome march over the big hills." The few villages they passed were deserted. On the other hand Emin frequently came across pigmy huts. Owing to the heavy rains, the forest was partially inundated, and at times the march led for some distance through standing water.

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To the Congo

ON the 18th of June Emin arrived at Ipoto near Kilongalonga. Said bin Abid was absent, but a letter from him informed Emin that the elephant-hunter was gone to Kibonga on the Congo with two hundred rifles, to make war upon Tippu Tib and others. Emin here fell ill again, his injured hand giving him fresh trouble. On the 30th of June, a Monday, he wrote in his diary :—

“Feet very much swollen, right hand incapacitated for work, eyesight half or three parts gone [Stuhlmann says Emin suffered from cataract.—*German Editor's note*]; is life worth living? Kilonga came to look at pictures and Shass (alphabetic characters); I asked him to come again, as I am ill. Some of my people have gone to the Arabs at Tenge-Tenge, to get some gunpowder in exchange for ivory. Muranguana sends manioc, two green pumpkins, whole rice; he is the most sensible of them all. Ismaili's wife is ill; he himself not to be seen.

“My people have shot various birds for me. Here in the hut I found a small snake, and a red-nosed rat with two young. For more than a week we have had nothing but sweet potatoes and watery rice; no oil, no butter—and then I am to get well!”

Again weeks went by before Emin could think of continuing the march. His people were thoroughly exhausted, and there was much sickness amongst them. And, as usual, there were no porters. But, in spite of all his cares and his personal affliction, Emin went on with his scientific labours and research as far as possible. Numerous entries in his diary prove that even in the worst of times his mind was actively employed in the interests of science.

Not until the end of July were preparations made for departure. On the 28th of that month (Thursday) Emin says of Kilonga, the slave of Said bin Abid, who had charge of Kilongalonga station: “He thinks I can start on Monday. He speaks of Livingstone, Cameron, Stanley, knows Katanga; was a member of the first ill-fated expedition (mentioned by Stanley) to the dwarfs.” The diary continues :—

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"*30th July, Saturday.*—Nobody to pack the provisions. Kilonga instructed Ismaili, who, however, is reeling about drunk. At three in the afternoon I sent to Kilonga, and there was a row. Ismaili came up immediately, but I sent him off. At eight in the evening Ismaili wanted to come and see me, Kilonga a little later to have 'a chat'; but I declined in each case.

"*31st July, Sunday.*—As early as seven in the morning I sent people for the loads, so as to cross the Ituri, a little boat being available. I am sending fourteen loads; three comprising the tent, three of cloth, three of birds, one of powder, one of drugs, one trunk, one basket of sundries, one of ivory. There are seven more loads and the food. . . . Kilonga brought Ismaili early, whom I soundly rated in the other's presence. Promise upon promise; bubbles all of them. All my loads remained in the station, and will not leave till tomorrow.

"*1st August, Monday.*—Ready early; two loads taken up. The usual trouble about porters, ending in a razzia; women taken, put in irons, loads distributed. No one about but Ismaili. ⚡ Marched at 8.48; Ismaili to follow with seven loads.

"First we passed five pretty homesteads. Kilonga and his faithful people were in their divan, but when I had gone as far as the grass (pasturage of the station), he sent word that he wished to come and say good-bye to me; I replied with best compliments, and continued on my way. At 8.55 we crossed a stagnant ditch, and till 9.30 travelled through stretches of woodland, with patches of rice and maize in various stages of growth. Many servant and guard huts on the road. From 9.30 hilly and muddy woods, and the scent of many blossoms. From 10, fields on the right. We passed through muddy pools and forest. At 10.22 we reached the northern bank of the Ituri, 87 yards wide at this point, and running with a strong current. A few huts near Mambe (Fubinall). ⚡ We have not taken anything across the river yet. Ismaili came up half an hour later; Munie Siberna is still behind. We waited. A man came up from Kilonga: I had gone without saying good-bye, was I angry? Yester-

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day he sent me a small goat (alive); in return I gave him a useless muzzle-loader and two boxes of caps. Of our people, the following were left behind in the station, unfit for the march: El Hadje Fatine, Halune Lur, the wife of Marie, a soldier, the boy Mund, Raman Aga, all with badly ulcerated feet. They are provided for. At 11.45 we crossed the Ituri, south-west by south, touching at an island in our passage at 11.50. Two hours after camped in the wood. Two porters absconded so far, a third is waiting his opportunity. Stanley did not cross here, but rather more to the east. It was very slow work, as I had only a negro canoe. The river is broad, but shallow; the poles used as oars touched the bottom everywhere. Above and below are rapids. From 2.15 till 3 we had a sharp shower. At 3.15 Ismaili reported that he had brought all my things across (there are seven loads short), that the people were on the island, and by evening all would be here.

"By evening all the loads were here except one basket and the provisions, four of which were missing. Kilonga has not even sent any sweet potatoes, and the beans formerly sent have been taken away. I again declared to Ismaili that I should not leave before all my people were with me, and sufficient porters provided for them and for me. Kilonga sent his son to suggest that I should look sharply after the porters, because they would try to make off. As if that were not Ismaili's affair!"

The march was continued along the Ituri. Emin made daily surveys of its course with as much precision as possible. The nature of this work is illustrated by the accompanying *facsimiles*.

In this way the march went on for more than two months through mire and swamps in the forest, and amidst indescribable difficulties. Yet Emin carefully noted whatever seemed of interest from a scientist's point of view. To afford an idea of the toil and fatigue involved, we need only quote the record of an ordinary day:—

"3rd September, Saturday.—Four of my people decamped! At 6.10 a.m. arrived at the river Bierna. Water lower, breast-high as we waded through. At 6.36 started from

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opposite bank. To the left we saw an enormous elephant's skull without tusks. Awful quagmire; drier only at the first hill, many winding rivulets to cross three or four times. Old clearings. First the country of the Watikalimaia up to the second clearing; then country of the Watikoakibie, chief Bunda, whose beautiful but abandoned grove we passed in an open clearing at 10.46. The people march well, in spite of the mire; hunger impels them all. At 12.30 Utikvatibie camp, also named Kituka, after a Manyuema tribe formerly settled here. Rice! Eight elephants on the way. A lot of diospyros fruit, Mtakara (Wasongoro) big cherries, hardish green peas, three flat seeds with fine pulp (Mtendeja Warguewa, Manyuema dates, one of the porters thought). In clearing colonies of weaver-birds: *Pl. castamen fasillo*? It is now half-past two. A good many large huts here. Rice field. . . ."

On and on through the forest, over rivers, up hill and down dale.

In addition to other troubles, the caravan had to sustain the attacks of the Warumbi, often enough resulting in serious bloodshed. As soon as the temperature moderated, the Manyuema evinced a tendency to drunkenness. And of intrigue there was no end, rendering the general situation still more insufferable.

On the 12th of October Emin described the march as follows:—

"Forest hilly, a good many pools. At 8.57 the first shambe, Papaya. Huts immediately. At 9.15 Kinena station on the Maluma brook. Nasty dark house. For me, two young chickens, rice, ripe bananas. I think yesterday's rudeness, *i.e.* sending me nothing to eat, quite uncalled for, though eleven baskets of manioc for the people. Abdalla Kisuri replies with empty phrases: What in the world do we want here? Whether the people are our slaves? Halt here for some days. I hope 'we' will do some collecting."

Chapter XL

A TRAGIC END

ANOTHER two days' march brought them to Kinena, distant about a hundred miles from Kibonge's on the Congo. Said, who on the way had frequently journeyed with Emin (at times he had gone on ahead and waited for the caravan), induced Emin for the present to stay with Ismaili at Kinena's, as he wanted to go on and prevail on Kibonge to allow Emin to come to his station.

This was the beginning of fresh tribulations. Day after day they lacked the elementary necessities of life. The ravages of hunger were painfully obvious. Yet Emin perseveringly added scientific observations to his notes on general matters. The last two entries in the diary were written at Kinena. They are:—

"22nd October, Saturday.—Kinena wants to go to Kirundu. Kibonge has sold his women. At ten in the morning Ismaili came to fetch me. Said sends his compliments; no letter, no provisions—in spite of innumerable promises!! Munie Mhara wants to fight. A friendly letter from Buana Kibonge, *alias* Hamadi bin Ali: I am to come soon. Fundi Manauti has gone to Stanley Falls.

"23rd October, Sunday.—Gloomy weather for the past three days. Aneroids very high."

In his meteorological journal too, which Emin regularly entered up three times a day—at 6 a.m., 2 p.m., and 9 p.m.—noting temperature and barometrical pressure, the last entries are dated 22nd October, and 6 a.m. on the 23rd.

For our report of subsequent events we are dependent on the statements made at a later date by Ismaili. Kibonge's

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answer at length arrived at Kinena, and it is tolerably certain that it came to hand in the forenoon of Sunday, the 23rd of October. In one letter Kibonge gave Emin a safe conduct through his territory ; in another, directed to Kinena, his orders wore a very different complexion, involving nothing less than the Pasha's death.

The reason will perhaps never be accurately determined ; but there is a balance of probability in favour of the hypothesis put forward some years ago in the *Vienna Neue Freie Presse* by Dr. Oscar Baumann, who spent some time at Tippu Tib's headquarters at Stanley Falls in 1886, and from personal experience knew the Arab ivory-dealers and their ways. He wrote as follows :—

"Emin would doubtless have reached the river in safety but that occurrences on the Upper Congo radically changed the situation. Until that time the attitude of the Congo State towards the Arab slavers had been one of expectancy, friendly to outward appearances. Then it was suddenly resolved to adopt energetic measures for their repression. Several expeditions were despatched ; one of them, under van Kerkhoven, penetrated north from the Aruwimi, close to the country in which Emin happened to be with Said bin Abid's people. Bloody engagements took place ; van Kerkhoven stormed several Arab camps and captured valuable stores of ivory. Naturally, the Arabs were embittered beyond measure. The immediate consequence was the murder of several agents of Belgian trade companies, who, under feeble escort, lived on the Upper Congo and its affluents and had hitherto been on excellent terms with the Arabs. At one time the Arabs would have been chary of murdering Europeans, for fear of reprisals ; but now that a war of extermination was being waged against them, they grew indifferent. In September, 1892, when the tension was at its height, I myself was at the northern shores of Lake Tanganyika, *i.e.* in the territory of the Arab slave raids. Instead of the obsequiously oriental reception to which I had been accustomed on the Congo, I found the Arabs full of bitter enmity ; and that we did not actually come to blows was mainly due to my 200 armed followers,

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in view of whom the Arabs were disinclined to pick a quarrel.

- “But no such deterrent factors entered into Emin’s case, wholly defenceless as he was. Admitting that Said bin Abid was originally well disposed towards him, there can be no doubt that this friendship was seriously undermined by the events on the Congo. And if Said bin Abid himself had wished to shield Emin, he could hardly have done so in the face of his infuriated Manyuema or the fugitive bands scattered by van Kerkhoven. But there is little likelihood that any Arab slave-dealer went out of his way on Emin’s account. At first, indeed, the African Arabs looked upon Emin, the oriental dignitary, with his thorough knowledge of Islam, as to some extent a mediator between themselves and the Germans. But Emin was compelled to adopt an attitude of unmistakable hostility towards the Arabs when he stormed the camp of the enemies of the German Protectorate, the Arab dealers in arms at Maojo on the Victoria Nyanza, executed the leaders, and captured a large quantity of arms and goods. From that moment Emin was nothing more nor less in the eyes of the slavers than a German officer, a man to be respected and feared, but to be slain with pleasure if an opportunity occurred. What I have said above points to the very probable conclusion that Emin was murdered in the depths of the forest by the remnants of a Manyuema troop broken up by the forces of the Congo State.”

It was at one time maintained that Kibonge desired, by the murder of a European, to gain prestige rivalling that of Bwana Nsige, who defeated the troops of the Congo State at Stanley Falls; but Major von Wissmann, too, inclines to the other opinion that Emin’s death must rather be put down to the universal hatred of the Arabs, who since the days of the Victoria Nyanza considered the Pasha to be a traitor. According to the Major, Emin incensed the Arabs in the whole of Central Africa, and stirred up a lot of bad blood, by handing over to the natives for punishment, the Arabs whose slaves he took away at the Victoria Nyanza; although he, being a Mahommedan like them, must have

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been aware of the contempt with which the Arabs regarded the natives. Moreover, the latter in this instance exercised great barbarity upon the Arabs; some were cudgelled to death, others drowned in the river.

The Murder of Emin

BUT we will resume the sequence of events at Kinena station on the 23rd of October.

On receipt of Kibonge's letter, Kinena, taking some of his people and Ismaili, sought Emin, and according to Ismaili's subsequent depositions before the judges, found him at his table, writing, in the midst of natural history specimens. A few of his soldiers stood around. He was bending over Kibonge's letter, and unhesitatingly adopted Kinena's suggestion, to send his soldiers into the plantations for bananas. They took their arms to overawe the women in the fields. The plantations were distant about an hour's march. Meanwhile Kinena expressed his regret that the Pasha would so soon proceed on his journey.

Ismaili and Mamba were standing close by the Pasha, and at a sign from the chief, seized his arms as he was still sitting in his chair. He turned, asking what they wanted. Kinena looked him straight in the face and answered: "Pasha, you must die!" Emin turned to him in visibly rising anger and called out: "What is the meaning of this? Is this a foolish jest? How dare you hold my arms? What do you hope to get by killing me? Who are you that you should dare condemn a man to death?" Kinena, answering, said: "The order is not mine. Kibonge sent it; he is my master, him I must obey."

Three of Kinena's men came up to help in holding Emin, who was struggling desperately to free himself and grasp the revolver lying on the table before him; but his struggles were unavailing, and he was forced back into the chair. Emin then called to Kinena that it was all a mistake, that he had a letter from Kibonge affording him a safe conduct so

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his village. He would find the letter on the table before him. Kinene rejoined: "Pasha, can you read Arabic? Yes! Then read this"—holding the other letter close to his eyes, for Emin was almost blind. Emin read it, and saw that Kinena was right.

Drawing a long breath, he turned to them, saying: "Very well! Kill me you may; I am the only white man in this region, but remember, many others are ready to avenge my death." He showed no sign of fear.

At a signal from Kinena, Emin was lifted out of his chair and put flat down on his back, four men pinning him to the ground, each by an arm or a leg; Ismaili held his head, whilst Mamba cut his throat. Emin offered no resistance; the head was held back, and Mamba almost severed it from the body. The blood spurted forth over the people, and Emin Pasha was dead.

For a moment the murderers retained their hold of him, then went their way and left the body lying there. Later, Mamba separated the head entirely from the trunk; Kinena placed it in a little box and sent it to Kibonge, so that he might see that his commands had been fulfilled.

The Murderers Punished

FOR a long time nothing was heard of Emin Pasha or his expedition. In circles where the Pasha's latest movements had been most closely followed, hopes were entertained that some day Emin would appear on the coast of the Cameroons. On the other hand, it was generally known that when Dr. Stuhlmann parted from Emin at Undusuma in December, 1891, small-pox was raging in the intrepid traveller's caravan, and that he himself was ailing. So that there was some semblance of truth in the following notice published by the *Berliner Tageblatt* in June, 1892:—

"ZANZIBAR, 8th June.—Advices from English sources *via* Mombasa confirm the death of Emin Pasha."

The advices were not in harmony with facts, however. At

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the time this news went the round of the German press Emin was on the march from Ismaili's station on the Pishahs to Kilonga-longa. Nor was there any better foundation for the news subsequently received from Zanzibar, to the effect that on the 30th of July, Lieutenant Hermann reported from Bukoba that, according to information sent by Captain Williams of Uganda, Emin had been murdered. Emin's death was also reported in England on the 10th of December, the *Morning Post* stating that Emin had been murdered by the Manyuema on the Ituri.

Soon after, the Brussels *Mouvement Géographique*, the official organ of the Congo State, professed to know that the Pasha, so far from being dead, was on the march to Lake Chad, intending to hoist the German flag there, that he had quitted German territory and struck a north-westerly course to explore the watershed north of the Welle, between the Nile and the Congo, and that he intended to penetrate to Lake Chad through the regions watered by the Shari and its affluents south of Darfur and Wadai. The *Mouvement Géographique* did not at that time deem so perilous an undertaking impossible to a small and peaceable band under Emin's bold and skilful leadership, sustained by his intimate grasp of Central African languages and circumstances. The probability was suggested of an early telegram from the Niger or from the Cameroons, to say that Emin, after traversing the regions separating the Albert Nyanza from Lake Chad, had arrived at the mouth of the Shari.

The foregoing article, inspiring fresh hopes, was to some extent confirmed on the 23rd of January, 1893: "On the 15th of August, 1892, one of Tippu Tib's sons reported from Stanley Falls that Emin Pasha was on his way to Ujiji; coming from Ruanda, he had taken the Usila road, and there asked for canoes to proceed to Ujiji."

Nor would *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, to which Emin had faithfully contributed for so many years, believe in his death. Even in the May (1893) issue of this periodical, the following paragraph occurs: "The truth of the oft-repeated advices of Emin's death must rightly remain in doubt until the time and place of the tragic event are at least approximately ascer-

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ained. After his separation from Dr. Stuhlmann in December, 1891, and having regard to the fact that whilst the porters Emin expected could not be sent to him from the German Protectorate, and his own people were far too weak in numbers, Emin had no means of returning to civilisation except by attaching himself to one of the Manyuema caravans conducted by Arabs. As these have their stations on the Upper Congo, partly at Stanley Falls, partly in Kibonge, partly in Riba, Dr. Emin, willing or unwilling, would be bound to accompany them west, in the hope of regaining German East Africa from the Congo."

But the hopes that he would succeed in safely reaching the coast, either on the Atlantic or Indian Ocean, once more proved delusive. In London, on the 4th of September, the Rev. Mr. Swan, a missionary just returned from Ujiji, published a detailed description of Emin's route, and his persecution by the Arabs. "When Emin arrived at Said bin Abid's," he relates, "an Arab stepped forward saying: You are the man who slew the Arabs on the Victoria Nyanza; and straightway struck off his head, Emin's sixty Nubians being put to death immediately afterwards. The bodies were delivered to the cannibals."

Whatever little hope there was that this account would not be confirmed was frustrated, and the last lingering doubt of Emin's death removed, in the middle of November, 1893, by the following intelligence from Belgium:—

"Captain Dhanis has driven the Arabs out of the Lomami basin, out of Manyuema, and out of the regions that stretch away to Lake Tanganyika, whilst Captain Ponthier has cleared the northern basin of the Congo. Ponthier drove the enemy from the region of the Falls, forcing them to retire upon Kirundu, the principal place of Chief Kibonge, the ally of Chief Said bin Abid. It was by order of Kibonge and Said that Emin Pasha, then nearing Kirundu, was murdered.

"The Arabs entrenched themselves at Kirundu on the Upper Congo to check the European advance. Ponthier pressed on by forced marches, stormed Kirundu, drove the Arabs from their entrenchments, and pursued the fugitives to the banks of the Lowa. Repeatedly forcing them to battle,

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he defeated them in a series of bloody engagements extending from the 28th of June to the 30th of August, took twelve hundred guns and vast quantities of powder and stores, and eight thousand prisoners. Among the latter were several chiefs, also Said bin Abid himself, who was immediately court-martialled on the charge of ordering Emin to be murdered, sentenced to death, and shot on the spot."

A few days after, a correspondent wrote to the *Vossische Zeitung* from Brussels:—

"In February this year, when Captain Dhanis at the head of his victorious troops entered Nyangwe, the capital of Manyuema, he found rich spoil, among other things the travelling basket of Emin Pasha, containing Emin's diary, a mass of documents, papers, books from his library, a book written in Arabic, and the Koran. The last entry in Emin's diary, which he appears to have kept with the most scrupulous exactitude from day to day, is under date of 12th October, 1892, as follows: 'Our last halt before reaching the Congo is in Manyuema, usually named Kinena, after the chief, a drunkard, a Nyamwesi slave of Said bin Abid.'

"According to this, Emin—as moreover Captain Dhanis specifies in his report to the Congo State authorities—must have been murdered six days after leaving Kinena, within four days' march of Kilonga, say about the 20th of October, 1892." [This conclusion, as well as the assumption that Emin's diary does not extend beyond the 12th of October was subsequently proved to be erroneous.—*German Editor's note.*]

From Nyangwe Captain Dhanis marched upon Tippu Tib's settlement, Kasogo, with its 40,000 souls, in order to conquer the last settled establishment of the Arabs. The latter had strongly entrenched themselves, expecting the assault from the east; but Dhanis, attacking them from the west, surprised them by a furious onslaught, and took the town by storm with one bold rush on the 22nd of April.

Rich spoils fell to the victors, also the concluding pages of Emin's diary, ending 23rd October.

One of Captain Dhanis' subalterns, Lieutenant Scheerlinck,

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gave a telling description of the capture of Kasongo, in a private letter to Brussels, adding :—

“When our soldiers entered Kasongo, they lost themselves in the labyrinth of streets lined by large and beautiful houses, and found so much loot that at a distance we could hear their jubilation and songs of triumph. The capture of Kasongo was worth to us: between two and three tons of ivory, thirty-five head of cattle, fifteen asses, numbers of clocks and watches, a quantity of cloth, nearly a ton of gunpowder, several thousands of percussion caps, twenty guns of improved pattern, Emin's diary, and a large musical box that belonged to the hodister. Emin's diary is made up to the 23rd of October, 1892; and as the Pasha used to keep his journals up to date, he must have been murdered on that or the following day. The diary, on which he evidently bestowed singular care, is written in German, with Latin characters; but a magnifying glass is required to decipher the handwriting. His last sentence is: “Das Barometer steigt schnell” (The glass is rapidly rising).

Of Emin's murderers only one had escaped capture by the leader of the Congo State forces—the Sultan of Kibonge, Kibonge himself, who gave the order for Emin's assassination. But Commandant Lothaire speedily set out to crush this most dangerous foe of the Congo State and of Europeans generally. Lothaire marched to the Ituri, the upper reach of the Aruwimi, fourteen days from Lake Albert Edward. He understood that Kibonge was well entrenched on the Ipoto, near Kilonga-longa station, and that a white trader, who sold the Arabs guns and gunpowder, had come to Kibonge's assistance. At Lothaire's approach, Kibonge, yielding at the sight of superior strength, wanted to fly, but Aluta, one of his chiefs, delivered him by treachery into the hands of the commandant.

As Lieutenant Brex fully reports from the Lindi river, under date of 9th January, 1894, Lothaire at once appointed a court-martial. Kibonge, a distinguished-looking man of about thirty years, with a fine head, proudly saluted his judges. The Court devoted two hours to an exhaustive examination of the circumstances attending Emin's murder.

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Finally Kibonge expressed himself as follows: "Yes, I own that I killed Emin. I am ready to die. Cursed be my traitorous chiefs!"

The Court condemned the Sultan to death, and he was shot immediately. Commandant Lothaire, in hopes of laying hands on the white man implicated, at once marched to Navahi, where he expected to meet some of Emin's people.

Emin's Legacy

EMIN'S diary, recovered in two parts by Captain Dhanis (the Arabs had evidently torn the book when they found it), was at once forwarded to Brussels. On the 3rd of December the representative of the Congo State handed it over to the German Ambassador. At the same time Captain Ponthier reported eliciting from captives that after Emin's murder, the Arabs had thrown his papers and natural history collections into the river. Captain Dhanis, on the other hand, reported finding a trunk at Nyangwe, containing sundry documents and objects belonging to the late Pasha, which he purposed to send on later.

On the 22nd of December, 1893, the Congo State authorities sent in the official certificate of Emin Pasha's decease, stating that his death took place at Kinena in November, 1892. The document is drawn up in the following terms:—

"CONGO FREE STATE.

"REGISTRAR'S DEPARTMENT. NO. 3.

("Coat of Arms.)

"*Certificate of Death.*

"In the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three, on the fourteenth day of December, before me, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the following persons attended—Henry Arthur Baertz, aged 34, an under-secretary of the Home Department of the Congo State, and Raimond Lombard, aged 34, a chief clerk of the Home Department of the Congo State—and declared that the person named Edouard

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Schnitzer, known as Emin Pasha, aged 52, a doctor of medicine, residing at died at Kinena (Congo Free State) during the month of November, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two.

"The deceased was born at Oppeln (Silesia).

"His father and mother are

"The undernoted documents were presented to me

"These presents have been read over to the parties making the declaration : Witness our hands as follows.

"Signature of witnesses :—

"(Signed) H. A. BAERTZ,

"(Signed) R. LOMBARD.

"*Pa. Le Secrétaire d'Etat,*

"*Le Secrétaire Général,*

"(Signed) AD. DE CUVELIER."

In virtue of this certificate, Emin's will, deposited at Zanzibar, was read there on the 19th of May, 1894, appointing his daughter Ferida sole legatee.

Emin entrusted his last will and testament to the Consulate at Zanzibar in April, 1890, before leaving for the interior, but without previously making good his daughter's legal title, Ferida being, as we have before mentioned, a child by Emin's marriage with Safaran, the "Abyssinian woman" (*i.e.* the Gallas slave). Emin was already on the march when special messengers were sent after him by Major von Wissmann to direct his attention to the oversight ; and it was only at a later period that Ferida was recognised by the Imperial German Consulate at Zanzibar as Emin's legitimate daughter, in pursuance of a written power of attorney sent by Emin to the coast, and on the petition of Mariano of Bagamoyo, who had been Emin's dragoman for a number of years.

The provisions of the will were as follows :—

"In the event of my decease on the journey, I bequeath all my property without any exception whatsoever, as well as my claims for salary and pension now in course of settlement by the Egyptian Government, to my only and legitimate daughter Ferida, whose mother, the deceased Abyssinian,

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Safaran, was my legitimate wife. And I appoint my sister, Melanie Schnitzer, to be Ferida's guardian until her twentieth year ; thenceforward my daughter shall be free to dispose of this legacy herself."

This last will was written by Emin himself, and signed on the 8th of March, 1890.

Emin had made a will eighteen months earlier, which of course was cancelled by the mere fact of there being a later one. It was drawn up on the 4th of October, 1888, at Dufle, and given into the care of Mounteney Jephson at the time they were both prisoners, and were to be sentenced to death by the seditious officers.

Later, from Usanga, under date of 7th September, 1890, Emin sent another letter to the German Consulate at Zanzibar, mentioning Dr. Stuhlmann as witness, and stating that in the will deposited at the Imperial Consulate before his departure, he had already recognised as his legitimate child the daughter born to him at Lado on the 18th of November, 1884, who at the time of making the will was at Bagamoyo, and whom he nominated as sole heiress of all his property. In this letter he goes on to empower the Consulate, with a view to securing the succession to the person named in the will, and to legitimate the birth of this his child Ferida, to take whatever steps may be required for her legal adoption. Then Emin says : "As I have never been married up to the present, there can be no legal bar to adoption." This letter also contains some further directions as to the disposal of part of his money.

In the meantime Ferida at Zanzibar had been confided to the M. Mariano mentioned above ; because the care of the Egyptian Fatume bint el Hagg Ibrahim, in whose charge she was at first, and who shared in the march from Equatoria to the coast, proved utterly inadequate. On receiving no more money in respect of Ferida's education, Fatume roundly asserted that she too was Emin's legitimate spouse. Ferida's guardians did not entertain Fatume's pretension, the consequence being that nothing more was heard from the woman. A report from the Imperial Governor, dated Dar-es-Salem, expressly mentions that Fatume's statements were erroneous.

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In his letters Emin always referred to her as nurse and servant of the child ; besides, up to that time the woman had never claimed to be anything else. Nor of course could any proofs whatever be adduced that a marriage had been contracted according to Mahommedan laws.

At Bagamoyo, Ferida had received no instruction whatever ; she spoke Arabic, Suaheli, Italian, and a little French, but of German she was altogether ignorant.

Chiefly as a result of the exertions of Dr. Kayser, Acting Privy Counsellor to the Legation, who was in East Africa at the time, Ferida was subsequently entrusted to the highly respectable family of Mariano.

But African travellers and German colonial officials, who saw the child at Zanzibar, were little satisfied with the education she received. Emin's sister, Miss Melanie Schnitzer, thereupon applied for the child to be brought to Europe, in accordance with Emin's will. The German Foreign Office, as well as the officials of the Colonial Department, very kindly acceded ; and when one of the deaconesses, Sister Lies Bader, returned home from Bagamoyo, the child, confided to her, was brought safely *viâ* Naples to Silesia.

Here everything within the limits of possibility was done for Ferida's education, so that Emin's last wishes and the desires so frequently expressed in his letters might be complied with. At Bagamoyo Ferida grew up without any religious instruction whatever ; in Germany she was brought into the Church to which her father had belonged. But not until she had been in Germany for some time was she baptised by the Rev. Superintendent Steinbach, in the house of the compiler of these pages, to whom her guardianship was transferred in February, 1894. In addition to him, the following were entered as sponsors in the baptismal register : Councillor-at-Law Zentzytski, Mrs. Kayser, the wife of the Privy Councillor above-mentioned, Professor Dr. Schweinfurth, Dr. Stuhlmann, and Judge Advocate Treftz.

A year after Emin's diary was handed to the German Ambassador at Brussels, the Congo State authorities were in a position to hand over Emin's trunk, found by Captain Dhanis, to the German Foreign Office, which in turn passed

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it on to the compiler of these pages as guardian of Emin's legatee.

Finally, a second trunk arrived from Zanzibar, containing Emin's remaining notes, left on the coast prior to his last march into the interior. The contents of this second trunk comprised six diaries covering the following periods: (1) 15th October, 1874, to 24th August, 1876; (2) 25th August, 1876, to 24th December, 1877; (3) 25th December, 1877, to 13th October, 1880; (4) 14th October, 1880, to 4th June, 1886; (5) 5th June, 1886, to 23rd December, 1887; (6) 24th December, 1887, to 2nd December, 1889; also a packet containing a book of ornithological measurements from March, 1888, to February, 1890, a book of mammalian measurements, a book of route surveys, a book of zoological notices (letter docket at the end), loose sheets of anthropometrical notes, and a number of various documents.

Of the objects sent by the Congo Government, the following were subsequently made over to the Ethnographical Museum at Berlin: Emin Pasha's last uniform, the Star of the Kronen Order, second class, the Franz Joseph Order, a thermometer, and sundry trifles, also a great number of diplomas from various scientific bodies.

From the remaining objects, received *via* Bagamoyo, a number of shields, spears, arrows, etc., have been selected for the same museum, in which, moreover, a very life-like bust of Emin has been placed, the work of the well-known sculptor, Magnussen. Some day perhaps another will be executed, in marble, and find a permanent place in the museum—that future generations too may know the work of the German explorer, who was not only for years the apostle of culture in a country isolated from civilisation, but who also, though oppressed by grievous afflictions, strove and worked for science up to his very latest breath.

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Retrospect

NO one knows where Emin's mortal remains were finally laid to rest ; no monument will ever adorn the spot. But the memory of the great scientist, who was as distinguished for excellent attributes of heart as for penetration of mind and comprehensive erudition, will be ever green among those who followed his intrepid movements in spirit, or who gaze with admiration upon the diary records of his unflagging zeal and study.

Emin had his faults ; he was but human. We have more than once had to refer to them in the preceding pages. But they are more than compensated for by the brilliant traits of his character. The wealth of light involved inevitable shadows.

Far and away ahead of everything else, Emin's almost unparalleled unselfishness over and over again commands our admiration. This self-sacrifice was boundless ; in critical circumstances a strict sense of duty led him to ignore himself and his own safety, and apply himself and his life to the service of those who had linked their fate with his, and for whom he thenceforward considered himself universally responsible. On all those occasions when Emin, in grievous jeopardy, could have saved himself by simply saying the word, it was this sense of duty that kept him unflinchingly at his post so long as a single man remained who placed his trust in him. We need quote but two examples. Emin would not leave Equatoria till all his dependants were provided for, nor would he accompany Dr. Stuhlmann from Undusuma and leave the sick porters and soldiers to an uncertain fate.

But, striking as was his fidelity to his inferiors, he was not less unconditionally faithful to his superiors. Long after the whole Soudan was overrun by Mahdist hordes, and Emin was completely severed from the parent State, he held out in the post confided to him by the Governor-General. When he consented to go to the coast, it was, Casati says, as though

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he were a prisoner. Similarly, when he took charge of the expedition equipped by the German Empire, he was faithful to the last. At Undusuma he kept those things only which were absolutely indispensable, giving the rest to Stuhlmann to be taken back to the German coast.

And in this stripping himself almost of essentials, Emin once again showed how insignificantly slight were his own wants. He liked comfort, and could always comfortably arrange his tent in the midst of the most inhospitable region, but he could just as easily do without and readily forego ease altogether at the call of higher duty. To fulfil his duties, or to serve science, no sacrifice was too great for him. Withal, he was ever ready to assist others, and ever with an open hand. This spirit of self-sacrifice more than once came dangerously near to being fatal to him. It has been advanced by some, to whom Emin was either an utter stranger or at best a superficial acquaintance, that the object of his last enterprise was to make himself master of the ivory stored in his former province, with a view to enriching himself. To attribute such an idea to a man like Emin is utterly unwarrantable. If Emin thought of securing these treasures at all, it was beyond doubt for the Empire, to defray the cost of the enterprise and to provide fresh means for scientific expeditions: this is perfectly clear from more than one paragraph of his notes.

Emin may perhaps have laid himself open to blame by not disclosing his intentions even to his nearest and dearest friends. But regard must be had to his experience in the long years past, when deceit and treachery ever dogged his steps; and it is surely not surprising that reticence should have become his second nature. It is difficult to determine how far his friends are right in maintaining that Emin's silence as to his inmost thoughts was dictated by a desire to remove all care from the path of others, and take everything upon his own shoulders; it would have been quite consistent with his character. It cannot be denied, however, that this silence not infrequently alienated the friendship and confidence of such as were near him, and who were led to suspect Emin of insincerity. Again, it was often taken to indicate

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infirmity of purpose, a weakness that can never be brought home to Emin.

• On the contrary, he pursued his plans most tenaciously, considering no obstacle insurmountable, but confident that by patience and perseverance all would be overcome ultimately. It must be admitted that he lacked the gift of uncompromising resolution, and of boldly cutting through the tangled meshes of circumstance. His ultra-conservative nature shrank from destroying anything, but rather desired events to take their natural course, under gentle guidance, to that goal which others maybe might attain more speedily by forced marches. Nothing was more hateful to him than brutality. Prince Bismarck, in his usual drastic style, once epitomised this peculiarity of Emin's as follows: "Emin may be far more intellectual than Wissmann, and that he is a great scholar is beyond dispute; but if I had his profile before me, it would show the back of his head to be insufficiently developed, betokening a want of that brute energy which cannot altogether be dispensed with in Africa."

Very similar is the opinion of Major-General Liebert, Governor of East Africa, who also found Emin wanting in the love of action. It simply meant that Emin's admirable qualities lay in other directions. In a letter to the compiler of these pages, the Governor says: "Emin impressed me as a most amiable gentleman, a man of science in the best sense, a phenomenal African, and a staunch German. The delicate charm of his conversation gained the hearts of all; his language was finished and masterly, although at that time he had spoken no German for ten years. His unflagging application, his untiring observation, research, and work in his 'laboratory,' inspired profound respect. I was touched by Emin's joy at being taken into the service of the German Empire, and at his decoration, and at receiving the degree of Doctor from the University of Königsberg. I ascribe his greatest successes, and the fact that he held out so long in a province menaced on every side, solely to his passive energy. He was no man of action, but could skilfully adapt himself to circumstances and to men, knowing how to treat them all, and how to overcome every difficulty by calmness, patience,

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and perseverance. On this score he was an unrivalled 'African.' But the Pasha ingratiated himself with me in a special manner by his predilection for Scheffel and his poems. He still knew the *Gaudeamus* fairly well by heart, and we spent many a pleasant evening singing German songs."

That a man like Stanley should fall short of understanding such qualities is easily understood. In this German, buried away in the depths of Africa, but still believing in the ideals of his youth, Stanley saw nothing but a hopeless enthusiast and a feeble mind; a conception manifestly unjust. The very fact of persevering undiscouraged, and buoyantly sanguine, is in itself a mighty power. This is recognised amongst others by Emin's friend at Milan, Captain Camperio, who expresses himself: "I believe that Emin, although almost blind, developed immense energy in his later years."

Casati likewise marvels at Emin's constancy in the post assigned to him. This long-time companion of Emin's writes to the compiler of these pages: "I became acquainted with Emin in March, 1883, at Lado, when he bore the cares of office amidst pleasant and agreeable surroundings, engaged in his favourite study of ethnography and natural history. I saw him again, when the growing intensity of the Mahdist storm forced him into a groove quite incompatible with his inherent tendencies. As a fellow-worker in the humanitarian work initiated by Gordon Pasha, he was the last of the heroes to sustain the fight, buoyed up by zeal in striving to save his province from the lamentable fate of the others. It was here that he developed gifted energy. A man of genius, magnanimous, filled with the spirit of learning, he devoted his whole existence and activity to the regeneration of Africa."

Dr. Felkin pays an equally warm tribute to Emin for his struggle against adverse circumstances. "Cut off," he writes, "from all intercourse with his fellows, cut off from encouragement and from books, dependent on his own resources, it was wonderful to see his cheerfulness and his manly stand against the intrigues, the ignorance, and the vice of his surroundings." Dr. Felkin, in writing to the compiler of these pages, unservedly appreciates Emin's lofty ideals of science: "It was

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his lifework to communicate a high standard of civilisation to the people among whom he dwelt, and in the interests of science to thoroughly explore the country of which he had been appointed administrator. His mind was always investigating some scientific problem, yet his scientific labours never interfered with the due discharge of his official duties. On the contrary, he was often too scrupulous ; it would have been better for him if, at times, he had not felt himself so closely bound by his duties."

Scrupulous conscientiousness was, perhaps, Emin's principal characteristic. It was everywhere apparent ; the scrupulous cleanliness of his dress is praised by every traveller who met him in the heart of Africa, remote from any influence of good breeding. His diaries are patterns of exactitude ; never a word crossed out, ever the same precise penmanship. On the principle that "manner makes the man," this circumstance alone will suffice to prove Emin's constant clearness of will, his presence of mind available for any and every occasion. His conscientiousness also was the underlying quality that made him so distinguished an explorer and naturalist. There may have been more learned men than Emin, but it may justly be doubted whether there were ever more conscientious naturalists or explorers. Indeed, scientists qualified to judge exalted him as such ; and as a striking proof it will be remembered that when Emin was on his last expedition, the leading German University professors petitioned the Foreign Office to secure Emin at all costs for Germany, so that his geographical and natural history researches, which they expressed themselves most willing to elaborate, could be utilised in the first instance in the German Universities.

All that Emin really did for science will not be known until his diaries have been elaborated by competent scientists. Some have already glanced at his labours sufficiently to pass an opinion.

For instance, Professor Dr. F. von Richthofen calls Emin's diaries, "documents of extraordinary importance, which in many respects will probably be the future historian's only source."

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Professor Dr. Hartlaub, in Bremen, also discerns incalculably valuable materials in Emin's works. In a recent letter to the compiler of this volume, he wrote: "Dr. Emin was undoubtedly an extraordinary and very gifted man. His enthusiasm for our favourite science excluded the very shadow of selfishness, so much so as occasionally to embarrass those to whom he sent his collections. He was further distinguished for exemplary method, and scrupulous accuracy in recording the observations made."

The same notable scientist dwelt at length on Emin's merits, on an earlier occasion, in the *Deutsche Revue*, concluding as follows: "Emin's researches have thrown light clear as noonday upon a great tract of Equatorial Africa that so far as science was concerned had hitherto been enshrouded in darkness. This is especially true regarding ornithology. Emin always kept in view the well-known fact that Africa is the winter retreat of many European birds of passage, and communicated numerous notes on the subject. There must be a wonderful charm in meeting in those remote districts of the interior, side by side with the many-hued golden starling, *capitondia* and *nectarinia*, the humble songsters of our German home. Emin's explorations in Monbuttu led to the surprising discovery that the animal world of that region is of a predominatingly Western type. Incidentally I may mention that on Fischer's last expedition it was ascertained that the fauna of the whole region of the Victoria Nyanza belong to the Western group. We are particularly indebted to Emin Pasha for a mass of valuable notes on the habits of the animals that came under his observation. Again, this is particularly the case with birds. He devoted the greatest attention to the very difficult problems of changes of colour, graduations and modifications of colourings, etc., induced by sex, age, food, and time of year. Unwearied and untiring, he searched till he arrived at unexceptionable results. We find Emin honestly endeavouring to classify his collections by the aid of the literary materials at his command. That he did not always wholly succeed is due to their incompleteness: a most lamentable deficiency, which, however, it was difficult to remedy so long as he was at Wadelai. His

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perpetual cry for books, books, is intelligible enough. The most annoying feature is that he has only now received the catalogue of the British Museum, which is simply indispensable for the purpose of systematic classification."

In the *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift* Hermann Schalow pays a fitting tribute to Emin's ornithological merits in particular, as follows: "Excluding research in Egypt proper, the bird fauna of which should be considered separately from that of Ethiopia, we are indebted for our ornithological knowledge of the Upper Nile regions, Abyssinia, and the countries watered by the tributaries of the Lower Nile, partly to Eduard Rüppel, but most of all to the labours and genius of Theodor Heuglin. Individual parts of the East African coast between Cape Guardafui and Mozambique had been explored by various naturalists, and in Finsch and Hartlaub's great work, *Die Vögel Ost-Afrika* (1870), ornithologists had a valuable handbook treating of the districts named. But all the intervening districts, from the scene of Heuglin's labours south to the great lakes in the interior, were ornithologically a *terra incognita*. It is Emin's lasting and most prominent merit to have supplied the general outlines to fill this gap. He was thoroughly convinced of the primary necessity for careful elaboration of detail to compensate for scantiness of material on which to base his conclusions. The first thing was always to carefully prepare special lists for circumscribed sections of the country, as a basis for general reports; 'assiduous collecting furnishes the materials for the purpose,' is Emin's own remark in a short essay upon zoo-geographic questions. And in this sense he was always active, with all that extraordinary energy inherent in him, with enthusiastic, absolutely unselfish love of nature, and inspired by an irresistible impulse to contribute to a knowledge of her treasures to the utmost extent of his ability."

His philologic labours are the subject of special praise from Giegler Pasha, who with his intimate knowledge of the Soudan writes: "Emin was of a singularly unselfish disposition, sacrificing himself for others as very few would, admirably patient and steadfast in difficult circumstances. His knowledge in every domain of human science was simply phenomenal. And

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no African traveller can have at all approached him in the mastery of Inner African idioms. If his notes on these were lost, it would be an irreparable misfortune for future explorers.

. . . And when I recall his engaging qualities as a man, rendering intercourse with him so pleasant and desirable, I can only say that he was one of those whom one rarely meets with in a lifetime."

On every side we hear the warmest appreciation of Emin. And should this not silence the few there are that blame? No one denies—we ourselves do not—that Emin had his faults. But how slight in comparison with the magnificent gifts of mind and heart that distinguished him, and that will be his perpetual memorial, assuring him a lasting place in history among the best of our people.

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NOTE.—Emin's spelling of native names varies considerably. In the first volume the spelling has been adapted to that in current use by the Geographical Societies of this country. This could not be fully done in the second volume, as the country traversed was new ground, and there is no standard to go by.

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